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TRADE RELATIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSULATES IN SPANISH AMERICA, 1779-1809

The first chapter in the history of our relations with Hispanic America does not begin with the outbreak of the revolutions in 1810 but with the commencement of our own revolt against Great Britain. For nearly three centuries, mercantilistic Spain labored to keep its American empire an exclusive field for the profit of a small number of Spanish commercial monopolists. Spanish strength, however, was insufficient and traders from the British American colonies were ingenious in making opportunities. Clandestine trade was by no means unknown but as smugglers rarely coöperate with statisticians, it is difficult to speak quantitatively of this furtive business. Wartime, almost continuous during the last years of the eighteenth century, made possible a more legitimate and measurable exchange and made necessary the appointment of agents and consuls. The story of the early development of this commerce, with its diplomatic corollaries, can be divided into episodes dependent upon the existence of peace or war. The first episode was occasioned by the war for American independence.¹

When Spain decided to enter that conflict against Great Britain in 1779, its colonial supply trade was quickly crippled

¹ I am indebted to the Committee on Research of the University of Pennsylvania for grants-in-aid in the preparation of this paper. The statistical work for this paper excluding that from *American State Papers* was performed by Dr. Arthur C. Bining and Mr. Henry P. Beers through the agency of this grant.

by the British navy and it became necessary to permit the Cubans to buy food from the United Americans. The resulting trade was hampered by many restrictions, high duties, port charges, and arbitrary detentions of American vessels.² Misunderstandings and claims for damages resulted; and when Robert Morris, who was in charge of most of the business dealings with Cuba, had received a report from his Havana agent, Robert Smith of Baltimore, to the effect that an official agent was needed there, he recommended that congress act. Smith was forthwith elected June 27, 1781.³ The new agent accomplished little in the way of improving conditions and he was also unable to aid Morris by selling American bank stock or bills of exchange for coin.⁴ Death cut short his career in the spring of 1783, and Morris requested congress immediately to appoint a successor, recommending Oliver Pollock for the place.⁵

Pollock was exceptionally well qualified. He had been an effective agent at New Orleans and while there had become a trusted friend of Bernardo de Gálvez recently appointed captain general of Cuba. This friendship was expected to be an asset to Pollock and to American shippers. Shortly after Pollock was elected by congress, May 27, 1783, he loaded two

* Duties were high ranging around 30 per cent import and 10 per cent export, sometimes augmented by other taxes. Americans could not do business directly but only through some Cuban business man. Ships were often detained while military or naval preparations were being made, so that no word of what was going on might leak out. These delays in the hot climate often caused cargoes to spoil and their owners to suffer financially. Cuba bought flour, rice, butter, fish, meat, tar and lumber while the United States imported sugar, hides, coffee, wine, and molasses. Besides Robert Morris, the principal traders seem to have been Geo. Mead & Co., Matthew Irwin & Co., Lacare & Mallet of Philadelphia, and John Dorsey of Baltimore.

² Papers of Cont. Cong., 137, I, 53, MSS. Division, Library of Congress; *Journ. Cont. Cong.*, XX., 698, 705. While committees of congress had appointed agents to West Indian ports and to New Orleans prior to this, Smith was the first agent to the region to be elected by congress.

⁴ Pap. Cont. Cong., 137, I. 187, 197; II. 327; *ibid.*, 79, II. 79; Francis Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Washington, 1889), V. 203; Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris*, (New York, 1903), pp. 99-100, 169-170.

⁵ Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, IV. 401; *Journ. Cont. Cong.*, XXIV. 372.

vessels with merchandise and departed for Havana, thereby proving himself not unmindful of his own fortunes. When he arrived in Cuba, however, he found that, in consequence of the coming of peace, the port was closed to foreigners, and worse still, his friend Gálvez had not arrived. He was permitted to enter with no great cordiality, only to find that business opportunities no longer were possible. He sought to exercise his official functions to aid Americans with little success and in the meantime was beset by his creditors. The United States had not reimbursed him for the money he had borrowed at New Orleans on his own security, and now that Pollock was within Spanish jurisdiction his property was attached, he was accused of smuggling, and even when all foreigners were expelled from Cuba in February, 1784, he was detained until his debts should be paid. Not until February, 1785, when his friend Gálvez arrived, was he permitted to leave.⁶ In the meantime trade which had been so flourishing died away.⁷ The first episode was finished.

The next four peaceful years were a barren interlude as far as trade was concerned. Spain was determined not to open its American colonies to foreign trade and Gardoqui, the first Spanish envoy to the United States, was specifically forbidden to discuss the matter. Jay's efforts to gain concessions

* The papers regarding Pollock's mission are in Papers of Cont. Cong., 50, 81, and 137, III; Archivo General de Indias, Papeles Procedentes de la Cuba, Leg. 1354; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado (hereafter cited as A.H.N., Est.), Leg. 3885 bis, exp. 4 (all citations in this paper from the Spanish archives are from the transcriptions or photostats in the Library of Congress). See also Augustus B. Woodward, *A Representation of the Case of Oliver Pollock* (Carlisle, 1806); Horace Edwin Hayden, *Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock* (Harrisburg, 1883); Margaret B. Downing, "Oliver Pollock", *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, II. 196-207; James A. James, "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West" and "Oliver Pollock and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River", in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI. 67-80, XIX. 331-347.

⁷ According to Philadelphia Custom House records and the press, when the trade was at its height in 1783 eighteen vessels had entered the port from Havana and twenty-two had cleared for the latter place. In 1785, one cleared for Havana and none entered from the Cuban port.

were fruitless as the abortive Jay-Gardoqui treaty showed.⁸ There are few figures available, but the records of the Philadelphia Custom House show that trade had almost disappeared.⁹ However, the interval was short as the needs of Spain's empire caused Spain to depart somewhat from its exclusive policy. The colonies needed labor, the Cuban sugar plantations were particularly short-handed and on February 28, 1789, a Spanish edict was issued permitting the entry of such vessels as brought Negro slaves. This new policy encouraged contraband trade because, quite frequently, slave traders had other goods beneath their hatches, which they seemed to have no difficulty in landing.¹⁰ When the first trade reports came from Hamilton's new treasury department in 1790 it was apparent that there was a trade of some small proportion with the Spanish West Indies.¹¹

The second episode of active trading began shortly thereafter, when Spain joined the monarchical allies against republican France in 1793 and continued until Spain withdrew temporarily from the war in 1795. French privateers soon crippled Spanish commerce and Spanish America had to shift for itself. In the meantime, the captain general of Cuba, Don Luís de Las Casas, more enterprising than some of his predecessors, sought to promote Cuban prosperity by admitting United States trade and thereby avoiding some of the cumbersome expense of the clumsy intra-imperial exchange regula-

⁸ Gardoqui's instructions of October 2, 1784, A.H.N., Est. Leg. 3885, exp. 21; Gardoqui to Floridablanca, June 30, 1785, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3884 bis., exp. 8; Gardoqui to Floridablanca, August 23, 1785, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3893, apt. 3.

⁹ Two vessels cleared from Philadelphia for Havana in 1786, while in the same year five entered from that port. In 1787 and 1788, no vessels cleared for Havana; one vessel entered from that port each year.

¹⁰ José Martín Félix de Arrate, "Llave del Nuevo Mundo antemural de las Indias occidentales" in *Los Tres Primeros Historiadores de la Isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1876), p. 178.

¹¹ From September, 1789 to September, 1790, exports from U. S. to Spanish West Indies were valued at about \$100,000; 50 per cent was flour. Imports were correspondingly slight, the largest item being a half million pounds of sugar. See *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation*, I. 25-43.

tions.¹² Using discretionary power granted to his office to be used in cases of necessity (by orders of April 14 and October 14, 1767), he therefore opened Cuban ports to trade in food with the United States, February 23, 1793¹³ and shortly thereafter the exigencies of the war drove the Spanish government to issue a similar order (June 25, 1793).¹⁴ There was no other way out, Cuba must trade with the United States or starve.

The relaxation of the restriction was not going to provide the freest sort of trade. For, in the first place, there was much privateering in West Indian waters, British and French, which preyed upon United States shipping and besides the Spanish were planning to profit by their own concessions. Gardoqui was now minister of finance and director of commerce and he organized a system, meanwhile telling William Short, the United States chargé at Madrid that no trade was to be permitted.¹⁵ Josef de Jaudenes and Josef Ignacio de Viar who had succeeded Gardoqui, as encargados or chargés on a joint commission of "equivocal and indefinite character", were now commissioned to promote trade; and in September, 1794, and the months following, Jaudenes established

¹² Cuba had to buy 75 per cent of its flour outside the empire. Spain required that this large quantity be bought from Spanish merchants and pass through the European ports of Spain, thus increasing the cost by the various profits, commissions, freight charges, and taxes collected by the Spanish government and merchants. Flour that sold for five or six dollars in the United States, cost from ten to sixteen dollars in Cuba. Las Casas wished Cuba to take advantage of United States prices. William Short to Jefferson, February 13, 1794, Spanish Dispatches, State Department Archives.

¹³ Pedro J. Guiteras, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (New York, 1866), II. 105-114; Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid 1878), III. 260.

¹⁴ Luis Marino Pérez, *Guide to the Material for American History in Cuban Archives* (Washington, 1907), p. 56. On June 9, 1793, the ports of New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine had been opened to countries with which Spain had treaties, if the vessels touched first at a Spanish port. In spite of United States disqualification, contraband trade flourished. See Arthur P. Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795* (Boston, 1927), p. 175. Jaudenes and Viar to Governor Carondelet, November 26, 1793, under their No. 205 of March 13, 1794, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3895 bis.

¹⁵ Short to Jefferson, October 16, 1793, January 9, February 13, 1794, Spanish Dispatches.

an enlarged consular system with Viar as consul general resident in Philadelphia and seven consuls and vice consuls in the various ports.¹⁶ Under this system all merchants who wished to send food to Cuba must buy permits from Jaudenes directly or through the consuls. The fees paid for these permits went to Jaudenes and were shared with Viar and with any consul who had introduced the merchant in question; rumor had it that the fees were further shared with Gardoqui himself. In the case of flour, the fees varied from one to three dollars a barrel and as that commodity marketed in the United States at from six to ten dollars it was a heavy charge. Cuban authorities, too, were not very hospitable and found many exasperating ways to plague those who had purchased the permits.¹⁷

For, in spite of its concessions, Spain was no more friendly to United States trade than before. Republican ideas were feared too strongly to grant any permanent privileges; and not only did the treaty of 1795 with the United States utterly ignore the question, but when Spain withdrew from the war that same year one of the first acts of peace was an order closing the ports.¹⁸ Jaudenes delayed the cessation of his profitable enterprise of permits as long as he could but he was

¹⁶ Samuel F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926), p. 237; Jaudenes No. 279, February 28, 1795, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3896; Jaudenes to Randolph, December 20, 1794, Notes from Spanish Legation IA, State Department Archives (the list of consuls is found under note of November 16, 1796). These consuls were also appointed to collect information in regard to possible separatist intrigues in the western part of the United States.

¹⁷ John Stoughton, Spanish consul at Boston to Thomas Stoughton, his brother, Spanish consul at New York, July 10, 1796. John Stoughton to John Leamy, March 24, 1797, John Stoughton Letter Book, 46, 80, N. Y. Hist. Soc. As John Stoughton was Jaudenes's father-in-law, it was quite a family affair. See also Pickering to Short, August 31, 1795, Instructions to U. S. Ministers, State Dept. Archives.

¹⁸ January 21, 1796, Pérez, *Guide*, 56; Godoy to Jaudenes, January 21, 1796, Min. de Est., Leg. 203. The concessions had been fought by Spanish merchants especially those who had enjoyed a monopoly of the colonial trade in peace time and partial suspension had already been ordered in 1794 without being obeyed. Guiteras, *Historia*, II. 190; Short to Randolph, March 3, 1795, Spanish Dispatches.

shortly recalled¹⁹ and Viar gave a proclamation to the press dated June 12 suspending trade and declaring the permits no longer valid.²⁰ Within a month trade with Cuba was dead.²¹ But it was not to remain so long.

The beginning of the third episode followed shortly for Spain's enjoyment of peace was brief. In this phase of the development of trade with Spanish America, it was to be necessary to establish consulates in spite of Spain's open hostility to this move. The reason was not only the fact that Spain reëntered the war in 1796 but that it became the ally of France. With the new declaration of war, it was of course necessary for Cuba to depend once more upon the United States; and as soon as word came to Philadelphia in the fall of 1796, the new Spanish minister, the Marques of Casa-Yrujo, started trade. The Spanish government, however, was quick to inform him that the Jaudenes permit sys-

¹⁹ Jaudenes was under fire. Many Cubans protested against his high charges for permits and the resulting high prices charged them for goods. Pickering also had complained of his plotting with disaffected Americans in the Mississippi Valley. The Spanish government gave him another place which was looked upon as a promotion. Short to Randolph, August 28, 1795, Spanish Dispatches; Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, *passim*; Jaudenes to Capt. Gen. of Cuba, September 22, 1794, under his No. 259, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3895 bis, pt. IX, pp. 790-799; Stoughton letter book, 1796, *passim*.

²⁰ Viar's No. 11, July 20, 1796 and its enclosures, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3896.

²¹ John Stoughton to James Leamy, July 7, 1796, Stoughton Letter Book. In 1790-1791 (September to September) exports to the Spanish West Indies were reported as valued at \$65,222.29, there was some increase by 1792-1793 to \$159,426 but the effect of the relaxation of restriction is seen when the figures for the next three years are noted. Exports for 1793-1794, 1794-1795, and 1795-1796 were valued at \$872,616, \$1,389,219, and \$1,821,347 respectively. The latter figure would have been greater undoubtedly had not trade been cut off in the last three months. See *Amer. State Papers, Com. and Nav.*, I. 104-138, 294-296, 317, 342, 362. There are no total figures for imports, but if sugar is taken for an index the 1,067,987 lbs. imported in 1790-1791 became 4,651,714 lbs. in 1794-1795 only to decrease to 3,961,576 in 1795-1796 (*ibid.*, pp. 194-202, 346-353, 364-371). In 1790 (calendar, not fiscal year as in above), Philadelphia Custom House records show no vessels clearing for Havana and five entering from there. There are no further clearance records surviving until 1802 but the entries tell the story. In 1793, there were nine entries from Havana, in 1794, forty-one, in 1795, thirty-four (one from Santiago), and in 1796, thirty-five (one from Nuevitas and four from Santiago).

tem was not to be revived.²² Instead, Spain intended to resort to the monopoly system so hallowed by long abuse. The provisions needed by Cuba were to be supplied by Count Jaruco, who was to reap the profit, presumably, in no small amount. As the count would not think of managing any commercial enterprise, he must choose an agent and for this purpose he commissioned Josef María de Yznardi, United States consul at Cadiz. Yznardi came to the United States to organize the monopoly and advertised in the United States press that trade must pass through his hands. Yznardi not Yrujo was to control the trade and Yrujo was in no way pleased.²³ It was not long, however, before trade outgrew Jaruco's monopoly. The British navy was too much for Spain and France combined and Spain was soon cut off from its entire American empire. The result of this isolation was a sweeping order of November 18, 1797, throwing open not only Cuba but also all of Spain's American Atlantic ports.²⁴ Within a year, the high levels of trade of the preceding period were doubled.²⁵ The

²² As soon as Yrujo heard of the outbreak of war, he induced a captain to hurry the news to Cuba by permitting him to sell 500 barrels of flour there; and shortly thereafter he gave James Barry a permit to introduce 20,000 barrels. Puerto Rico had sent for food but as Yrujo had no funds with which to procure it, he got Barry to supply Puerto Rico on credit in return for this permission to sell to Cuba, Yrujo No. 13, November 10, 1796, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3896 bis; Yrujo No. 15, November 30, 1796, No. 67, July 23, 1797, *ibid.*, Leg. 3890 bis; Yrujo No. 35, February 18, 1797, No. 60, June 12, 1797, *ibid.*, Leg. 3896 bis. Godoy's rebuke and grudging permission for these operations are in February 15, 1797, Min. de Est., Leg. 204 and January 22, 1798, *ibid.*, Leg. 205.

²³ Yrujo's complaints in regard to Yznardi are in his No. 32, January 28, 1797, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3896 bis and in his No. 93, January 24, 1798 (*ibid.*, Leg. 3897). Yrujo claimed that Yznardi's advertisements sent the price of flour up and notified British cruisers to lie in wait for the food ships as they left the United States. Godoy tried to mollify him in his letter of May 17, 1797, Min. de Est., Leg. 204.

²⁴ Preliminary permission to trade had been granted February 23, 1797, Guiteras, *Historia*, II. 214. Humphreys to Pickering, November 21, 24, 1797, Spanish Dispatches.

²⁵ Exports in 1796-1797 amounted in value to \$2,879,170 and in 1797-1798, to \$5,298,659. Imports (using sugar as an example) for the two years respectively amounted to 20,947,249 and 40,202,868 lbs. See *Amer. State Pap., Com. & Nav.*,

United States mercantile interests bade fair to reap a rich harvest from these new opportunities, as the American republic was the only convenient neutral with a sizable merchant marine, and the result was a practical monopoly. But the merchants were not to enjoy the good fortune unmolested, for France was a menace.

France was bent on crippling United States commerce in the West Indies. The French government resented the refusal of the Washington government to aid and was angry over the Jay treaty with France's enemy, Great Britain. Both France and Spain were certain that the United States policy was aiding England in the war against them; and Spain further feared that United States territory might be used as a base by Great Britain for attacks on Louisiana and Florida. France and Spain, therefore, by means of privateers preyed upon United States commerce in the Caribbean, on the pretext that most of it was bound for British island ports with contraband. By January, 1797 it was reported that Spain had captured and condemned thirty United States vessels in that region.²⁶ Not only were these captures frequently made in Spanish territorial waters by its own ships but also by French vessels and, further, both flags used Spanish ports in which to sell the prizes. The crews of these prizes fared badly, for they were landed frequently in Cuban or other West Indian ports, destitute and forced to shift for themselves. In this condition, United States seamen often became victims of tropical diseases, and strangers in strange and none too friendly lands, were robbed, maltreated, and sometimes killed

I. 384, 417, 392-398, 400-405. The entries into Philadelphia for the calendar year 1798 were forty-eight from Cuba, two from Puerto Rico while for the first time a significant item appears, five ships from the port of La Guira in Venezuela. 1798 shows fifty-eight ships from Cuba, four from Puerto Rico and nine from La Guira. The Spanish American empire was buying not only flour and other provisions but spirits and wine, lumber and iron, shoes, hats, dry goods, and furniture. The United States bought principally sugar, molasses, brandy and rum, coffee, cocoa, indigo, tobacco, and cigars.

²⁶ Yrujo's No. 33, January 30, 1797, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3896 bis.

in water-front brawls. Measures must be taken to defend United States rights and interests in the Spanish colonies.

Heretofore, the United States government had been able to do little to protect its commerce and less to promote it. Jefferson and Randolph as secretaries of state, had recorded in their instructions to United States representatives in Madrid their desire to obtain commercial concessions in Spanish America by treaty but saw no hope.²⁷ Pinckney had endeavored to incorporate concessions in the treaty of 1795 to no avail.²⁸ Pickering, when he entered the state department, was more emphatic in his instructions and more interested as a New Englander than his Virginia predecessors had been, but all to no result.²⁹ The increasing depredations now urged him to more decided action than note writing, and he determined to take the bull by the horns. Consuls or agents for seamen and commerce, such as Smith and Pollock, were necessary in Spanish American ports, not only to collect evidence of violations of neutral rights, but also to protest and to demand redress on the spot and to look after destitute seamen.

Spain would not receive consuls in its American ports but Pickering was not without expedients. When Yznardi arrived in the United States on Jaruco's business, Pickering concluded to use him. He was about to go to Cuba and as he was a consul recognized by Spain, though in a European port, why could not he look after United States interests while he was in Havana? Pickering so instructed him and he spent three months in Cuba.³⁰ His errand, however, did not permit of a

²⁷ Jefferson had written of the ideal of reciprocity to Carmichael, March 17, 1791, Inst. U. S. Min.; he also instructed Carmichael and Short to attempt a commercial treaty though he despaired of any United States concessions (March 18, 1792, *ibid.*, and Report Book, II. 1).

²⁸ See Randolph to Pinckney December 25, 1794, Inst. U. S. Min., and Pinckney to Pickering, October 28, 1795, Span. Dispatches.

²⁹ Pickering had called in Tench Coxe and had him prepare a report on Spanish West Indian trade. Tench Coxe to Pickering, September 1, 1795, Misc. Letters, Pickering to Pinckney, September 23, 1795, Inst. U. S. Min.

³⁰ Pickering to Yznardi, May 2, 1797, to Capt. Gen. of Cuba, same date, Inst. U. S. Min., John S. Whitall to Pickering, Havana, July 20, 1797, Misc. Letters.

long stay and his efforts were not sufficient to improve conditions materially. In the meantime, further evidence of need caused Pickering to take other steps. It had been reported to him that the French were represented by a consul who, though not officially recognized, was permitted to remain. So President Adams and Pickering decided to commission an agent. They had recently appointed a consul to reside in a Spanish American colony at New Orleans; now they would send one to Havana. On December 29, 1797, Daniel Hawley of New York was designated consul at Havana, and in the following June, Josiah Blakely of New York was appointed to the same office at Santiago. Yrujo immediately protested, pointing out that Spain recognized no consuls in its American possessions, not even those of its French ally and he warned the Spanish ministry that the United States was attempting to worm its way into the colonies by this device.³¹ Hawley, nevertheless, was permitted to remain and to function after a fashion without recognition.

Conditions did not improve and 1798 saw the United States in an angry mood. The X. Y. Z. disclosures caused the government to arm against France and a law was passed in June forbidding all trade with France or its possessions. France on its part increased its privateering operations and Spain as usual placed its ports at France's disposal. War seemed imminent, the navy was dispatched to the West Indies, and merchantmen were armed. At least two warships were commissioned to visit Caribbean ports and to take away destitute seamen.³² Others served as convoys to trading ships.³³

³¹ Pickering to Yrujo, January 3, 1798, Domestic Letters; Yrujo to Pickering, January 2, 4, 1798, Notes from Spanish Legation; Yrujo's No. 89, January 19, 1798, No. 150, January 17, 1800, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3897. Humphreys to Pickering, August 31, 1798, Spanish Dispatches, Pickering to Hawley, June 29, 1798, Inst. U. S. Min.

³² Pickering to Jacob Mayer, September 22, 1797, Pickering to consuls in French ports, March 29, 1798, Pickering to Gov. of Puerto Rico, July 12, 1798, Inst. U. S. Min., Pickering to Adams, June 18, 1799. Domestic Letters.

³³ Pickering to consul at Havana, August 4, 1798, to Gov. of the Is. of Cuba, August 10, 1798, Inst. U. S. Min.

In this crisis, Hawley was not a success. His chief interest was the enhancing of his own fortunes and he spent more of his time in getting trade permits and taking advantage of his fellowmen than in looking after United States interests or seamen. Finally, in the winter of 1798-1799, he took a prolonged leave of absence from his post. At first, Pickering contented himself with sending Yznardi back to Havana,³⁴ this time to establish a hospital for sailors; but when charges against Hawley of sharp practice in prize cases were brought to the secretary's attention, the consul was removed June 28, 1799.³⁵

A second trial was to be made immediately. On the next day, Hawley's successor was commissioned. A group of influential New York and Philadelphia business men and politicians joined in recommending John Morton, brother of the prominent federalist, Colonel Jacob Morton, who also had another brother, George C. Morton, who was in business in Havana. Morton was sent to Havana bearing a vigorous letter to the captain general demanding that the commerce of the United States be better protected from French privateers. The new consul was a competent business man who had friends in Havana and was properly introduced by Yznardi, who acted as his interpreter while he was learning Spanish. The captain general received him unofficially and courteously, even referring a dispute between two Americans to him, but there was not the slightest sign of official recognition.³⁶ Spain was adamant.

³⁴ Pickering to Yznardi, July 19, 27, 1799, Inst. U. S. Min.

³⁵ J. B. Church to Col. Jacob Morton, April 30, 1799, Daniel Hawley to Pickering, April 18, 1799, Dispatches from Havana Consulate, hereafter cited as Havana; Pickering to Hawley, April 16, May 1, June 28, 1799, to John Ferrers, May 2, 1799, to Pres. Adams, May 21, 1799, Domestic Letters. Hawley's final removal was caused by sharp practice in a prize case in which he had endeavored to cheat the owners and their insurance brokers. He had secured the release of a vessel brought in by a French privateer and instead of sending the ship to its destination, he sold the cargo and refused to turn over the proceeds. Furthermore, he tried to manufacture evidence in his favor.

³⁶ Pickering to Adams, June 4, 18, 1799, Domestic Letters, to Yznardi, July 19, 27, to Capt. Gen. of Cuba, August 1, to John Morton, August 1, 15, to Yznardi,

Spain, moreover, had repented of its enforced liberality in trade concessions and just as Morton was leaving for his post in August, 1799, word came which at first seemed a death blow to United States trade. Spanish merchants, backed by their correspondents in Havana and Vera Cruz, had been working against the order of 1797. Cuban planters and some Havana merchants had profited much by the war-time freedom but their influence was unavailing; the Spanish interests were closer to the ministry. The United States minister reported that French influence, too, was pressing upon Spain to keep Americans out of West Indian ports. The adverse influences won and on April 18, 1799, a peremptory royal order closed all Spain's American Atlantic ports. But it was not to be as bad as it seemed, Spanish regulations seldom were. The United States minister was assured that the purpose of the order was to keep out British trade, for the neutral merchants from the north of Europe were sending cargoes of British wares and the prohibition was directed against British manufactures, not United States flour. Orders had been sent to permit the importation of provisions whenever it should be necessary. This report was confirmed by Morton from Havana and his reassuring letters to the collectors of ports were published in the press.³⁷ Beyond causing temporary caution on the part

August 15, September 14, to Capt. Gen., November 8, to Morton, November 9, Inst. to U. S. Min.; Yznardi to Pickering, Havana, December 7, 1799, Pickering MSS, XXV, Mass. Hist. Soc. Pickering was further hopeful that Morton might aid in stamping out an abuse. Because ships bearing slaves for sale were less liable to annoyance in Cuban ports and were more readily admitted, a trade in Negroes from the United States had developed. A law of 1794 had been enacted to prohibit their export but it was commonly violated. Morton was instructed to collect evidence. Pickering to Morton, November 16, 1799, Inst. U. S. Min.; Act of March 22, 1794, Stat. L., I. 347.

³⁷ Pezuela, *Historia*, III. 294; Humphreys to Pickering, April 19, May 17, 1799, Spanish Dispatches; Pickering to Morton, November 16, 1799, Inst. U. S. Min. Yrujo was so disturbed by this prohibitory order that he wrote a pamphlet in English condemning it, which the Spanish government immediately ordered him to suppress. Yrujo's No. 137, December 10, 1799, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 3897. The pamphlet is found in *ibid.*, Leg. 3891 bis, exp. 1, doc. 110. See also Min. de Est., Leg. 207, February 17, 1800.

of some shippers and serving as an excuse for seizures in the La Plata ports by Spanish officialdom,³⁸ the edict had little discernible effect; and in the meantime circumstances were conspiring to cause another boom in United States trade with Spanish America.

Nelson had clipped the wings of French naval power by the destruction of the fleet at Aboukir bay and when Napoleon got well settled in power after the *coup d'état* of 1799, and discovered our naval power, he started a new policy. Our naval strength, as early as February 1799, was forty war vessels and 300 armed traders in the Caribbean,³⁹ and two significant naval victories were achieved in the course of the next few months. French privateering was no longer profitable or even safe and Napoleon began the consideration of a treaty. By June, 1800, Morton could record that the coast of Cuba had not seen a French vessel for several months.⁴⁰ So peaceful were affairs that the consul took a prolonged leave in the fall of 1800, leaving his brother George C. Morton in charge. Next spring the latter reported:

I observe with satisfaction that the general disposition of the Civil Department is to render justice and protect the rights and persons in an equal if not greater degree than those of their own, and the attention of the Marine Department is not to be exceeded, scarcely equalled by any nation. The wealth and importance of this colony has increased during the few years that it has been open to the American trade in a most astonishing degree, with regard to the habits of industry, knowledge of commerce, general civilization and comforts of life, and for the continuance of which trade after peace shall take place, many petitions have gone forward to court.⁴¹

³⁸ The story of the beginning of our trade with the La Plata region is told by Charles Lyon Chandler in *Inter American Acquaintances* (Sewanee, 1917) and in his articles, "The River Plate Voyages", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII. and "U. S. Merchant Ships in the Rio de la Plata", *HISP. AMER. HIST. REV.*, II. and III. See also Diego Luis Molinari "Comercio de Indias . . . 1791-1809", *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, VII. (Buenos Aires, 1916).

³⁹ Pickering to Smith, February 5, 1799, *Inst. U. S. Min.*

⁴⁰ Morton to Madison, June 4, 1801, Havana.

⁴¹ Geo. C. Morton, April 21, 1801, *ibid.*

Trade increase was not confined to Cuba but extended to South America, not only on the Atlantic coast but also on the Pacific shores, to the great distress of the Spanish government which wished to consider that great ocean a *mare clausum*.⁴² Augustine Madan was commissioned consul at La Guaira, Venezuela, January 8, 1800, the first consul to be appointed to South America.⁴³ Between 1798 and 1801, trade between the United States and Spanish America again nearly doubled.⁴⁴

For a third time, peace was to interrupt prosperity. In October, 1801, hostilities were concluded and Spanish commerce was again free from danger. When Consul Morton returned to Havana in December after a year's absence,⁴⁵ he found conditions becoming impossible. Peace had called forth

⁴² Pickering to Pinckney, September 23, 1795, and Yrujo's No. 279, June 25, 1802, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 5630 give statements of the American and Spanish views on the Pacific.

⁴³ Some description of the development of trade with Venezuela is found in A.H.N., Est. Leg. 3890 bis, exp. 6, doc. 1 and Min. de Est., Leg. 208, December 2, 1801. The record of Madan's experiences in his consulate is a blank except for the fact that Madison removed him April 18, 1807 commenting as follows: "Representations entitled to credit touching the execution of the duties of your office, connected with the fact, that not a single communication has [ever] been received from you." Inst. to Consuls.

⁴⁴ Exports for 1797-1798 and 1800-1801 were valued at \$5,298,659 and \$9,070,022, respectively; and sugar imports for the same periods amounted to 40,202,868 and 74,514,618 lbs. respectively. (*Amer. State Papers, Com. & Nav.*, I. 417, 489, 432-444, 512-524). Considerable items are first listed in this period as to and from South America. Exports to this region amounted to \$532,153 in 1800-1801 and the largest listed item of import was 2,131,137 lbs. of cocoa. The Philadelphia statistics show that the fifty-eight ships from Cuba in 1798 had been increased to ninety-eight in 1801, the four from Puerto Rico had become six and the nine from Venezuela had become fourteen; in addition, five were listed from the La Plata in 1801. In 1798, the total from the Spanish American empire had been seventy-five and in 1801 this had become 137.

⁴⁵ Charges had been made against Morton that in shadowy collusion with the notorious Gen. James Wilkinson he had used a warship to undertake a voyage for private profit. The details of this venture are not clear, but Morton had been able to convince Adams that it was proper and after explaining it to Jefferson was permitted to return to wind up his business affairs. Morton to Madison, June 4, October 30, 1801, Havana.

the latent hostility to United States trade, which need, alone, had caused the Spanish to suppress imperfectly. Don Luís de Viguri, the intendant, seemed to have been the embodiment of this unfriendliness, as his actions showed. He had protested against the captain general's courtesy to Morton. He had arrested and imprisoned Consul Blakely at Santiago on a charge of smuggling. He had imposed arbitrary rules upon United States shippers without warning and had winked at clandestine trade with the British, permitting the latter to sell in Cuba many of the cargoes captured from Americans. The intendant also, so Morton reported, was not above taking "presents" and the pleasantly-disposed captain general maintained that he had no control over him.⁴⁶ Morton succeeded in obtaining Blakely's release and set about winding up his affairs, for the federalists were out of power and Jefferson was about to appoint Robert Young of the District of Columbia⁴⁷ as Morton's successor.

No sooner had the official confirmation of the peace arrived two days before Christmas, 1801, than the captain general and the intendant hurried, quite in contrast to their usual pace, to revive the prohibitions under their discretionary power. Without warning, the ports were closed on Christmas Day and a fortnight later all foreigners were ordered to leave. The new regulations, however, were enforced in typical fashion; for three months more ships were admitted, after tedious delays, if their agents paid the intendant a "fee", which increased as time went on from 4½ to 6 per cent of the value of the cargo. This arrangement was terminated at length on March 10, 1802, but only after the threats of local merchants to report to Spain this violation of the general closing order which had arrived in the meantime. These same merchants anticipated a harvest of high prices.⁴⁸ Though the order ex-

⁴⁶ Blakely to Madison, November 1, 1801, Santiago, Morton to Madison, December 11, 12, 1801, William Billings, May 21, 1801, Havana.

⁴⁷ *Sen. Ex. Jour.*, I, 406, appointed February 2, 1802.

⁴⁸ Morton to Madison, December 25, 26, 1801, January 9, 20, March 17, 1802, Havana. Yrujo was very much opposed to the restrictive policy and when he

pling foreigners was not enforced, the "agent"-designate, Robert Young, who was not to be called a consul out of deference to Spanish dislike of this name, may have taken it seriously. At any rate, he did not repair to his post before Morton left in July, 1802, and the latter appointed as acting consul Vincent Gray, a Virginian, who had become established in business during the last two or three years.⁴⁹ Morton obtained for him the captain general's courtesy without recognition and Gray took over the duties, which he considered neither desirable nor profitable. He was not immediately overworked for the new policy cut trade down ninety per cent.⁵⁰

The interlude did not last long. In the first place, Havana immediately suffered a shortage. Spain had returned to monopolies as usual and Count Jaruco once more had flour; but these favorites had not been enterprising enough. Havana needed at least 7000 barrels of flour a month and 10,000 feet of lumber, so United States vessels occasionally and grudgingly were admitted.⁵¹ Then Great Britain and France

received word, March 29, 1802, that the ports were to be closed, he failed to tell Madison, alleging gratitude to the American Secretary for his attempts to suppress Billy Bowlegs on the Florida frontier. Yrujo's No. 270, March 31, 1802, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 5630. This act was approved by the Spanish ministry.

* On returning to the United States, Morton told Madison that owing to the uncertain state of affairs Gray, who was well established, would be much more effective than a new man. This may have caused Young, who was a friend of Gray's, to remain home; he never went to Cuba so far as I can discover. Morton to Madison, May 24, August 9, 1802, Havana.

⁵⁰ Exports for 1800-1801, 1801-1802, and 1802-1803 were valued at \$9,070,022, \$6,047,688, and \$938,289 respectively and sugar import for the same periods amounted to 74,514,618, 15,106,283, and 8,051,882 lbs. respectively. See *Amer. State Papers, Com. & Nav.*, I. 489, 507, 543, 512-524, 558-570, 576-579. Entries to Philadelphia from Cuba dropped from ninety-eight in 1801 to twenty in 1803, Puerto Rico entries disappeared, and the Venezuelan entries dropped from fourteen to three. The outward register of Philadelphia, which is preserved from 1802, onward show twenty-three clearances for Cuba in 1802 and thirteen in 1803; those for Venezuela increase from two to three.

⁵¹ Pinckney to Madison, August 14, 1802, Spanish Dispatches; Gray to Madison, October 29, November 8, 1802, February 4, March 2, 1803, Havana; Yrujo's No. 494, March 20, 1805, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 5631.

resumed hostilities in May, 1803, and though Spain was not immediately involved, the advent of privateers in West Indian waters made Spanish shipping unsafe. The Cuban ports therefore became more hospitable to United States vessels.⁵² Gray soon had to report the old story that French privateers were capturing United States shipping with the connivance of Spanish port officials. Blakely supplied a list of thirty-seven United States vessels brought into Santiago as French prizes and destitute sailors came to the consuls in flocks for aid.⁵³ Finally, on December 12, 1804, Spain entered the war itself and as usual was forced to open its colonial ports.⁵⁴ In February, 1805, Havana was once again in need of provisions and United States ships had free access to its wharves.⁵⁵

This fourth interval of trade took on a new significance because of the *haute politique* and the imperialism of the Jefferson régime. In the interim, the United States had purchased Louisiana and had made gestures, notably the Mobile Act, toward Florida. Spain was angry and fearful, and though compelled to admit the United States flag to its Cuban ports, was more than ever suspicious of the United States and nervous as to the republic's possible designs upon Cuba. Now that the United States possessed the port of New Orleans, trade with Cuba was even more desirable than before and

⁵² Gray to Madison, December 5, 1803, Havana.

⁵³ Gray to Madison, December 20, 1803, February 11, May 8, 1804, Havana; Blakely to Madison, April 20, 1804, Santiago.

⁵⁴ Pinckney to Madison, December 12, 1804, Spanish Dispatches. If Pinckney was correct, Spain got into the war under peculiar circumstances. A Spanish expedition was being prepared to defend Cuba and Florida against the expansive tendencies of the United States demonstrated by the Louisiana Purchase and the Mobile Act. Great Britain thought the expedition might be intended as a hostile gesture toward the United Kingdom so the English minister at Madrid made a demand for an explanation. Spanish pride resented this and refused to account, whereupon Great Britain drove Spain to declare war.

⁵⁵ Gray to Madison, January 2, 14, February 6, 11, 1805, Havana; Blakely to Madison, April 3, 1805, Santiago.

more convenient. Cuba was being drawn too close to the United States and Cuban officials were more than ever disposed to be friendly to France as a protective device. Trade, while it flourished, was in a more precarious situation and the attendant dangers greater.

The altered conditions influenced Jefferson to pursue a new policy. Under the federalists, especially when Pickering had been in office, there had been much interest in the possibilities of trade promotion, but when Jefferson came in to power his policies were different. Foreign commerce was not to his mind so much a national interest as it was a national weapon. He sought, therefore, not to promote it—he did not believe in government interference to aid private interests—but to use it as an adjunct to his diplomacy. He had taken no interest in Cuba for four years, but the acquisition of Louisiana and his hopes regarding Florida needed but little time to suggest the possibility of acquiring Cuba and even Mexico. When war broke out, therefore, Jefferson decided to send a regularly appointed agent to Cuba to relieve Gray,⁵⁶ not so much, we may suspect, to promote trade as to watch events. The captain general of Cuba had jurisdiction over Florida and any movement of troops made in that direction or toward Louisiana would start from Havana. Henry Hill, Jr., of Connecticut, was appointed consul and instructed, not only in the usual form to safeguard United States commerce and seamen, but also specifically to report any unusual military or naval activity which might be preparing for Florida or Louisiana.⁵⁷ Besides appointing Hill, Secretary Madison protested to the captain general against friendly connivance with the French

⁵⁶ Gray remained in Cuba until his death, November 9, 1831, and acted as consul during the various times when regular appointees were not in residence. *Nat. Intelligencer*, January 18, 1832.

⁵⁷ Madison first wrote Robert Young who was still commissioned to Cuba asking him whether he were going. Madison to Young, January 22, 1805, Domestic Letters, Hill to Madison, April 4, 25, 1805, Havana; Madison to Hill, April 19, 1805, *Inst. U. S. Consuls*.

and instructed the minister at Madrid to do the same. Under the circumstances these could be but impotent gestures.⁵⁸

The new consul was not like Morton or Gray, he was a forthright man who spoke his mind and who was jealous of his dignity and bold in attack. He was to have full charge of affairs on the island, was to supersede both Gray and Blakely, and was authorized to appoint vice consuls in other Cuban ports. He had forms and stationery printed, clearly indicating that Henry Hill, Jr., was United States consul; there was to be no hiding his rank or pussyfooting where he was concerned. Necessarily, his career was short and turbulent. When he arrived in June, 1805, he found that Gray had recently been arrested on a charge of connivance in smuggling and his papers confiscated. As usual, the captain general refused to recognize the new consul. Nevertheless, Hill attempted to act; French privateers were altogether too plentiful. He was no man of half-way measures, "impotence in a public officer ever attracts contempt and derision", he once wrote.⁵⁹ He made a thorough investigation of the Spanish customs system and sent the state department an elaborate report which is his monument. When he found abuses he protested vigorously. Such unwonted lack of finesse wounded the captain general, and when Hill's communications continued to increase in pugnacity, he was ordered—but in Spanish fashion—to leave. For, after the order had been given, nothing further was done and Hill's inquiries of the captain general's secretary assured him that he could continue to act. At the same time, at Santiago, Blakely was arrested for functioning as a United States agent and he forthwith fled the island. He was not much loss, as he had been dilatory in aiding seamen and perhaps not above smuggling; nevertheless,

⁵⁸ Madison to Capt. Gen., May 5, May 29, 1804, Inst. U. S. Consuls; Madison to Pinckney, April 10, July 16, 1804, to Bowdoin, April 20, 1805, Inst. U. S. Min. Spain attempted a counter offense claiming that the U. S. was aiding the spread of Negro revolts in the West Indies by helping the Santo Dominicans, Yrujo to Madison, February 23, 1804, Notes from Spanish Legation.

⁵⁹ Hill to Madison, August 30, 1805, Havana.

the manner of his exit was trying to United States pride. Discouraged by his lack of success, Hill took a prolonged leave of absence early in 1806 and left his duties to his secretary, John L. Ramage.⁶⁰

Jefferson and Madison perceived that Hill's methods were too obvious, and accordingly decided to send him to Jamaica. Heavy spoliations during the summer by privateers still demanded action and Jefferson's fertile brain was at work over new ideas; Miranda had talked to him of independence for the Spanish colonies and aid to the United States in case the latter went to war with Spain. The United States might acquire Mexico as well as Florida and Cuba; and put an end to much of the privateering menace.⁶¹ At any rate, more discreet agents, Maurice Rogers and Jacob Clement of Pennsylvania, were to be sent to Santiago and Puerto Rico, and in January, 1807, James Anderson of South Carolina was transferred from Cette in the south of France to Havana. Though the latter was not to be called consul, as that title caused too much trouble, but simply an agent for seamen and commerce, he was instructed to carry on the consular duties and like Hill was to keep watch.⁶²

* Hill's dispatches date from June 12, 1805 until May 10, 1806, his service in Havana from May 27, 1805 until March 26, 1806. His elaborate report on Cuban commercial conditions is dated November 1, 1805, Havana. When Blakely fled, Andrew Hadfeg acted in his place at Santiago from October 15, 1805 until September 6, 1806 when his successor arrived, see especially Hadfeg to Hill, November 30, 1805. Hill, after service in Jamaica, was appointed, May 6, 1808, consul at St. Salvador, Brazil where he arranged for the reception of an American minister by the prince regent of Portugal who had lately set up his court there. Hill served in a consular capacity in Brazil for more than a decade, aiding the U. S. navy during the war of 1812, Consular dispatches from St. Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; see Hill's pamphlet petition to the members of Congress, November 22, 1834, L. of Cong. rare book collection.

* Yrujo's No. 590, December 3, No. 604, December 31, 1805, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 5631.

* Madison to Rogers, June 13, 1806, to Anderson, January 24, 1807, to Clement, June 11, 1807, Inst. to Consuls. Madison seldom communicated with these consuls and agents after his initial instructions. Hill, Blakely, and Anderson complained of this neglect, especially as their dispatches were not even acknowledged. Even when the embargo was passed, no instructions were issued.

Anderson proved to be the exact antithesis of Hill, for he was cautious to the degree of being fearful. He had, indeed, no pleasant task in extricating himself from the precarious position in which the "inconsiderate conduct of Mr. Hill" had placed him. He feared to report any abuses lest he might be denounced and thrown into prison. He was not even going to keep any records for, thought he, "I conceive it unnecessary and impolitic to run any risque whatever in being too particular". Besides, he feared lest he be assassinated. Nevertheless, there were compensations; like his predecessors he went into business and, including his official fees, expected to gross \$10,000 a year, though his expenses were so great that he anticipated a net profit of but \$3000.⁶³ His realizations exceeded his prospects; nevertheless, he lamented that he would rather make one half as much in a pleasanter country, and he continued to be "poisoned with the thoughts of being stabbed should I become an object worthy the attention of assassins".⁶⁴ Naturally, such an agent did not command much respect and Anderson complained that the ship captains "don't pay much attention to the consul"; for they often waited days before reporting with their registers.⁶⁵ Duties, too, were raised to 38 per cent on imports and 12½ per cent on exports, and were so high that the consul was sure Americans were losing money on their trade.⁶⁶ Yet, on they came in spite of the yellow fever that raged during the summer of 1807.

The days of prosperous trading, alas, were numbered. The United States embargo of December, 1807, did less than might be supposed to limit trade because it was quite generally violated. Anderson reported in February, 1808, that 104 United States vessels had arrived since the first of the year.⁶⁷

⁶³ Anderson to Madison, March 27, 1807, Havana.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1807.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1807.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, September 1, 1807. Hill had the same fear.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, February 8, 1808. In July, Gray who was acting as consul reported that the embargo had not been felt, Gray to Madison, July 24, 1808. Trade reached its high point in 1806-1807 when exports amounted to \$13,025,579 and

The great blow came rather when Napoleon deposed the Spanish monarch in favor of Joseph Bonaparte. This error caused the remnant of the Spanish legitimate government to welcome the aid of Great Britain. In the colonies, especially in Cuba, there was an instant reaction against the French and a sudden cordiality to the British. Great Britain now had the freedom of Cuban ports and Spanish commerce had the protection of the British fleet.⁶⁸ The monopoly which the United States had enjoyed was shattered and United States merchants must compete with British and Spanish traders.

Jefferson was both plagued and stimulated by the new developments. This sudden friendship of Spain for Great Britain was not to his liking, for the latter might take advantage of Spain's weakness and annex some of its American empire. On the other hand, France seemed about to control all of it. The United States was in danger and Jefferson's hopes of acquiring Florida, Cuba, and Mexico flared up, egged on occasionally by Napoleon's duplicity. Though Jefferson gave no open encouragement to a Cuban delegation, which visited him to suggest the annexation of their island by the United States, to save it from Napoleon, he considered the question in cabinet. France and Great Britain must not take territory.⁶⁹

the importation of sugar 87,763,464 lbs. *Amer. State Papers, Com. & Nav.*, I. 721, 749-769. The calendar year 1807 brought 200 vessels from Spanish America to Philadelphia, one hundred and thirty-eight from Cuba, eighteen from Puerto Rico, twenty-nine from Venezuela, but two from the La Plata and seven from Vera Cruz. One hundred and seventy-seven ships cleared from Philadelphia for Spanish America, one hundred and fifteen for Cuba, five for Puerto Rico, ten for Venezuela, one for the La Plata and three for Vera Cruz. The La Plata authorities were not friendly and those in Venezuela sometimes had temperament, Yrujo's No. 653, April 12, 1806, A.H.N., Est., Leg. 5632.

* Anderson came back to the United States in the spring of 1808 and Vincent Gray assumed charge. For his descriptions of the reaction against the French, see Gray to Madison, July 24, November 11, 27, 1808, Havana. His situation was not pleasant and at least twice he closed the consulate at the request of the Capt. General. D. Sheldon to John Graham, August 31, 1808, Misc. Letters, Gray to Anderson, November 20, enclosed in Anderson to Madison, December 14, 1808.

* Charles E. Chapman, *History of the Cuban Republic* (N. Y., 1927), p. 48; Henry Adams, *History of the U. S. during the Adm. of Thomas Jefferson* (N. Y., 1930), IV, 340-341.

When Madison came to the White House on March 4, 1809, he did not share Jefferson's enthusiasm for acquiring Cuba but he did carry out Jefferson's defensive policy. Anderson was sent back to Cuba to arrange for an interview between the president's personal messenger and the captain general. This agent, none other than the intriguing Wilkinson, carried the Jefferson message in terms anticipating the Monroe Doctrine. The Spanish American colonies might remain loyal to Spain or free themselves, but they must not fall under the sway of Britain or France. Better let there be freedom from Spain and an independent, republican, America.⁷⁰ This gesture only frightened the Spanish officials and increased their long-standing fears of American designs on Florida and Cuba.⁷¹ As the captain general and the intendant at Cuba were no longer dependent upon United States trade they were in a position to vent their dislike of Americans upon those who came to their ports. Spain's own ships were given advantages in duties which made competition with them difficult; Great Britain's trade in these areas increased; United States vessels were seized by the Spanish on the ground that they were violating the embargo; and it was apparent that the flush days for the United States were over. By midsummer of 1809, Anderson and Gray, who still acted as consuls occasionally, were compelled to close the consulate and Anderson came back to the United States.⁷² Rogers remained in San-

⁷⁰ I. J. Cox, "Pan-American Policy of Jefferson and Wilkinson," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, I. 222-223; Henry Adams, *History of the United States during the Adm. of James Madison* (N. Y., 1930), V. 37-39. Anderson to Richard Forrest, March 13, Anderson to Robert Smith, April 3, 1809, Havana.

⁷¹ Valentine de Forondo, dispatch of January 24, 1806, A.H.N., Est. Leg. 5543, exp. 4 explains the Spanish fear of the United States. Yrujo got into serious difficulty in 1807, and Forondo, the consul general, became more active. He accused Yrujo of being engaged in extensive commercial operations, especially in Puerto Rico. A.H.N., Est., Leg. 5547, exp. 2, and Leg. 5634, p. 30, year 1808.

⁷² Anderson to Smith, April 3, 14, 20, June 5, 1809, Havana. When Anderson returned to Cuba he was given two months to wind up his business and leave. This he did in June presumably. He later was appointed consul in Gothenburg, Sweden, January 18, 1811. Gray also wrote to Smith a few times, April 27, May 3, 30, June 6, July 24, 1809, and then all is silent.

tiago until his death in 1811 but he ceased reporting after the spring of 1809⁷³ and there is no evidence that Clement at Puerto Rico ever functioned. Trade dropped off fifty per cent.⁷⁴ No further attempt at reëstablishing United States agents was to be made until conditions were changed by revolution.

During this thirty years of experience United States traders had tasted the profits of Hispanic American trade. A large number of individuals had gained first-hand experience regarding Hispanic American conditions. Both the mercantile class and the state department had learned how difficult, if not well nigh impossible, it was to have satisfactory relationships, official or commercial, with colonies ruled so arbitrarily and capriciously. That this knowledge was significant is proved by the fact that in 1810, as soon as there was word of revolution in these colonies, men came forward with plans for using the revolts as opportunities to extend trade, and three agents for seamen and commerce were immediately appointed to revive and enlarge the business first projected in the previous thirty years. These experiments in trade and diplomacy had also stimulated ideas of great future significance, such as the acquisition of Florida, special interest in Cuba, the Monroe Doctrine, and Pan Americanism.

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⁷³ Rogers's last dispatch is dated April 22, 1809. He died July 22, 1811. In 1810, the state department reported to congress that there were no consular agents in Spanish America.

⁷⁴ Exports dropped from \$13,025,579 in 1806-1807 to \$6,685,617 in 1808-1809 and sugar imports from 87,763,464 lbs. in 1806-1807 to 34,657,330 lbs. in 1808-1809 (*Amer. State Papers, Com. & Nav.*, I. 815, 851-857). According to the Philadelphia statistics the drop in the number of vessels was not so marked. The calendar year 1809 showed a decrease of entries of from 200 in 1807 to 184 and of clearances from 177 to 126; Cuban entries of 138 became 91, Puerto Rican *increased* 18 to 30, and Venezuelan, 29 to 30. Cuban clearances declined from 115 to 80, Puerto Rican increased from five to twenty-six, Venezuelan increased from ten to fifteen.

THE PUERTO BELLO FAIRS

The commerce of the Isthmus of Panama during the colonial period may roughly be divided into two parts, although there was considerable overlapping between the two divisions. First and most important was the transshipment trade which was carried on by the isthmus by virtue of its position as the port of entry for Peru and the other Spanish South American areas; second was the local trade which grew up for the support of the Spanish forces on the isthmus.

It is the first of these which claims our attention in this study. With the restrictions which were placed by the Spanish government upon the entry of goods into the Indies—that is, the limiting of the entry to a few specially designated ports—the isthmus became the distributing center for the whole of the Central and South American areas. Through the greater part of the colonial period there were no open ports on the eastern or western coasts of Spanish South America. All goods shipped to the South American areas were required to go by way of the Isthmus of Panama. This applied not only to those commodities destined for Peru, but also to those shipped to Potosí, Chile, Tucuman, and the Río de la Plata area—even as far as Buenos Aires. Rather than extend the number of ports of entry in the Indies, the commodities for these areas were carried across the Atlantic to Puerto Bello on the periodic fleets. From Puerto Bello they were transported across the isthmus by mule or river boat to Panama, where they were transhipped to Callao. There they were again loaded on mules and packed over the long routes to Potosí, Chile, Tucuman, and the Río de la Plata area. It is not to be implied, however, that all the commodities which reached these areas actually took this route. Officially, the route described was to be followed. But the distances involved in this long journey, the time required, and the addi-

tion it made to the prices of the commodities, made the inhabitants of those areas willing and even eager to purchase smuggled goods, which usually could be introduced clandestinely at lower prices than the Spanish goods. The colonial officials frequently disregarded the contraband trade or even connived at it, with the result that there early grew up a vast and profitable smuggling trade on the eastern coast of South America, with Buenos Aires as its "capital".

The return current of the Spanish South American trade originated largely in the precious metals from Peru and Potosí, which were packed to Callao, and there loaded on ships bound for Panama. Arrived there, they were transported across the isthmus by mule, and at Nombre de Dios and later at Puerto Bello were placed aboard the galleons for the voyage to Spain. The precious metals, while the most important single item in this return current, were not the only commodities of importance. In addition, such staple commodities as cacao, quinine, sugar, tobacco, and vicuña wool figured prominently in the trade.

The exchanges in the Spanish-Peruvian trade first took place at the port of Nombre de Dios. In the beginning, ships from Spain had gone to the isthmus singly as the occasion demanded, although, even before the inauguration of the fleet system, it had become the practice to organize occasional fleets in order to thwart the activities of corsairs and pirates. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, the number of ships arriving at Nombre de Dios from Spain was not large. According to the historian Girolamo Benzoni, who visited Nombre de Dios in 1541, but fourteen or fifteen vessels annually arrived there about that time. The largest of these appears to have been of about three hundred sixty tons. The cargos brought from Spain at that time consisted of miscellaneous wares, but principally of wine, flour, biscuit, oil, cloth, silk, and household articles. Even at this early date, Benzoni observed the glutting of the isthmian market, which at a later time became chronic. According to him, there were instances

where quantities of such items as oil, figs, and raisins were left on the hands of the Spanish merchants. They, not being able to obtain any price for them, were frequently obliged to give them to the shipmasters in payment of the freight. While not intending, in his own words, to "deteriorate from the glory and ambition of the Spanish nation", Benzoni commented that at the time "undoubtedly, ten Venetian merchants would suffice to buy up all the merchandise that once a year is brought here, as well as the town itself".¹ The volume of commodities passing to the isthmus at this time was not substantial for, although the city of Lima had been founded and the flow of gold from Peru had begun, the population of the Peruvian and isthmian areas had not attained any large proportions.

But as the South American area was further opened up, the increased population and the continued exploitation of the Peruvian and Potosí mines contributed to the expansion of the Spanish American trade. In 1552, the fleet system was installed. With the establishment of the fleets, the exchanges in the Spanish-Peruvian trade were concentrated in the short time that the fleets remained in Nombre de Dios. There, sometime after 1575, the famous annual fair was established to facilitate the exchanges in the trade. At Nombre de Dios the fairs had but a short life for, in 1597, the city was removed to Puerto Bello, and that city became the seat of the annual exchanges.

FUNCTION OF THE FAIRS

Of the various fairs held in the Indies, that at Puerto Bello was the most important, not only from the point of view of its particular function, but also in point of the volume and the value of the commodities handled. The Vera Cruz and Cartagena fairs, while exceedingly important in the distribution of commodities to their respective hinterlands and the concentration of the Spain-bound commodities for the return

¹ Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World, 1572*. Translated for the Hakluyt Society by W. H. Smith (London, 1857), 116.

voyage, were somewhat local by comparison with that at Puerto Bello. The full significance of the isthmian fairs, and the importance to which they attained, can only be appreciated by an understanding of the particular function which they performed. They were not merely an aggregation of merchants from the surrounding area, who used the fair as a distributing center for a part of the Tierra Firme region. Their chief function was that of an entrepôt for the whole of the Spanish-South American trade. The essential feature was the exchange of the commodities of Spain for the precious metals and other products of Peru and the other South American areas. Thus, the fairs became the focal point around which the whole of Spain's trade with its South American dominions revolved. The existence of the fairs in this form was the result of an agreement between the Spanish and the Peruvian merchants, sanctioned by the crown, regarding the method by which the trade of Spain with Peru was to be transacted. Paramount in this connection was the fact that Spanish merchants could trade on their own account only as far as Puerto Bello, and conversely, that the Peruvian merchants could trade on their own account only as far as the isthmus.²

With this restriction of their movement, the merchants of Spain and Peru, or their representatives, met annually at Puerto Bello to effect their exchanges. Essentially they were organized as two companies or merchant guilds, the Seville merchants being the members of the one, and the Peruvian merchants constituting the membership of the other. The body of rules and regulations which grew up had as its purpose the securing of a monopoly of the Spanish-Peruvian trade to these two organizations, as well as equality of opportunity for the merchants who took part in that commerce. At the fairs, the Spanish merchants were represented by the

² Jorge Juan y Santicilla and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación histórica del Viage a la América Meridional*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1748), I. 141-142. Hereafter cited as Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*.

almirante of the galleons, and the Peruvian merchants by the president of Panama.

DURATION OF THE FAIRS

After the organization of the fleet system, but before the Atlantic terminus had been transferred to Puerto Bello, the exchanges in the Spanish-Peruvian trade were conducted at Nombre de Dios, where the annual fairs began after 1575. The exchange period at first was of uncertain duration, lasting as long as was necessary to complete the transactions. The transfer of the Caribbean terminus to Puerto Bello was ordered in 1584, but did not become a fact until thirteen years later, in 1597. At first, the fairs at Puerto Bello were limited to no particular time. As late as 1637, when the English friar Thomas Gage visited the isthmus, the fair period was fixed at a fortnight, but this duration was dictated more by the sanitary situation than by the volume of trade passing through the fair.³ The growing population in the Tierra Firme and Peruvian areas, and the consequent increase in the volume of commodities flowing in both directions through the fairs, made the two week period inadequate for the transaction of the exchanges. The duration of the fairs was therefore extended by degrees. In 1685, when William Dampier passed through the isthmus, the fair lasted for thirty days, while in 1735, when the two Spanish naval captains Juan and Ulloa undertook a survey of Spanish South America, they found that the duration was forty days.⁴

The limit set was intended to provide as long a time as was possible for the transactions, consistent with the unhealthful nature of the Puerto Bello region. While Puerto Bello was considered a more healthful site than Nombre de Dios had been, it left much to be desired. Because of the ring of mountains which surrounded the town, the heat was continually

³ Thomas Gage, *A new Survey of the West Indies*, 4th edition (London, 1699), p. 446.

⁴ William Dampier, *A new Voyage round the World, describing particularly the Isthmus of America* (London, 1699), I. 184-185; Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 141.

excessive. From January to May, the breezes reaching the city were somewhat cooler than those during the remainder of the year, but were heavily laden with moisture. From May to January, they became warmer and drier, but more healthful. Precipitation was heavy and continuous throughout the year. The climate was enervating. Casualties from fevers were high, especially during the time of the fleets, when it was common for from three to four hundred of the sailors and soldiers to succumb to disease.⁵ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French traveler Samuel Champlain called Puerto Bello "the most evil and pitiful residence in the world", and called attention to the great number of sailors, soldiers, and merchants who died while the fleets remained there.⁶ Nearly half a century later the situation had not improved, for in 1637 Thomas Gage thus characterized the city:

. . . when the Fleet is there, it is an open grave, ready to swallow in part of that numerous people, which at that time resort unto it, as was seen the year that I was there, when about five hundred of the Souldiers, Merchants, and Mariners . . . lost their lives, finding it to be to them not *Porto Bello*, but *Porto malo*.⁷

It was not always possible to adhere to the time limit which was set for the fairs. As was the case with fleet sailings, the duration of the fairs depended somewhat on the success in completing the transactions, the loading and the unloading in the allotted time. On some occasions the *almirante* of the galleons would delay several days or a week before sailing, in order to accommodate merchants who were behind schedule. Officially, however, the fairs were expected to close promptly at the designated time, and Spanish merchants not completing

⁵ "Descripción corográfica . . . Puertovelo, 1607," in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía*, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1884), IX. 112, 116. Hereafter cited as *Doc. inéd. de Indias*.

⁶ *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the years 1599-1602*. Translated for the Hakluyt Society by Alice Wilmere (London, 1859), pp. 40-41.

⁷ *A new Survey of the West Indies*, p. 450.

their transactions were in danger of being left behind, for the ships were expected to weigh anchor precisely on the last day of the fair period.⁸ The round trip from the time the galleons left Spain until they again anchored at San Lucar usually occupied from eight to twelve months. In the later period, however, when foreign merchandise was finding its way to the fairs in great volume, the Spanish merchants experienced greater difficulty in disposing of their wares, and the fleets often were delayed beyond that time.

THE FAIR

Upon their arrival at Cartagena, the galleons disposed of that portion of their cargo which was consigned to that city. They then laid up at Cartagena until such time as they received advice that the Peru fleet had arrived at the city of Panama. This policy was dictated not only by the desire to make the stay in the unhealthy Puerto Bello region as short as possible, but also because of the poor state of the Puerto Bello defenses, which made the city an easy prey for the pirates who infested the area.⁹ The word of the arrival of the Peruvian fleet having been received at Cartagena, the galleons then proceeded to Puerto Bello.

Meanwhile, with the receipt of the word that the galleons had left Cartagena, the city of Panama became the scene of feverish activity. Seamen and Negro slaves were occupied in unloading the treasure and other commodities from Peru. The *recuas*, or droves of mules, made their way across the isthmus to Puerto Bello laden with the precious metals. *Barcos*, or river boats, made the journey down the Río Chagre loaded with the more bulky materials. At the same time, there began an exodus from Panama. Royal officials, merchants, factors, and artisans took up the journey to Puerto Bello to

⁸ William Dampier, *A new Voyage round the World, describing particularly the Isthmus of America* . . . I. 185.

⁹ Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 139; Edmund Burke, *An account of the European Settlements in America*, 2 vols. (London, 1760), I. 293.

perform their functions or to ply their trades at the fair.¹⁰ At Puerto Bello the townspeople were busy vacating their houses, or certain portions of them, in preparation for the arrival of the fleet. When it is realized that in addition to the officials, merchants, and artisans, sometimes between 4,000 and 5,000 soldiers and sailors arrived with the galleons, some idea may be gained of the strain which was placed on the housing facilities of such a small place as Puerto Bello.¹¹ Many of the householders moved into one or two rooms of their houses, renting the balance to merchants and seamen. Some moved out entirely to take up a temporary residence in the poorer quarters and slave district of the town, called Guinea. Here many temporary cottages were erected, while in the large open area to the west of the town temporary barracks were erected, principally to accommodate the crews and soldiers from the ships.¹²

Entering the harbor and anchoring, the ships were boarded by the royal officials who had come from Panama for the event. They inspected the *registros* and the cargos, to see that the merchandise was properly registered, and that no unauthorized articles were aboard. The manifests and cargos having been inspected and found correct, the order for unloading was given. Supervised by the general of the fleet, the royal officials, and the *alcalde* mayor of Puerto Bello, the seamen and slaves then proceeded to unload the cargos. A tent of the ship's sails was constructed in the plaza of the city to receive the cargo of the particular ship. As the commodities were unloaded, they were drawn on sledges to the proper tent, where the owners of the goods or their representatives watched for the markings which distinguished their respective shipments. The money given to the seamen for their work in

¹⁰ Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 121, 170; William Dampier, *A new Voyage round the World, describing particularly the Isthmus of America* . . . I. 179.

¹¹ Thomas Gage, *A new Survey of the West Indies*, p. 445; C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 188-190.

¹² Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 120-121.

unloading was then divided proportionately among them. Meanwhile meetings of the officials and the representatives of the Spanish and the Peruvian merchants were taking place. At these, prices were established for the various classes of merchandise. These, together with a statement of the merchandise carried in the fleet, were then publicly announced, and each merchant was expected to adhere to them.¹³

These preliminaries accomplished, the principal business of the fair began, and Puerto Bello became a scene of animation perhaps not duplicated in the Indies. Where before the arrival of the fleet there had been practically an empty town, there was now a multitude of people, all engaged in some activity connected with the Spanish-Peruvian trade. Merchants hired shops and houses in which to display and sell their wares. Houses were crowded, and the streets, squares, houses, and shops were filled with bales and boxes of commodities of all kinds, and chests of gold and silver.¹⁴ Even the seamen from the ships took part in the trade which occupied the attention of everyone during the fair. They kept stalls for the sale of sweetmeats and other edibles which they had brought from Spain.¹⁵

As the deals were accomplished, the goods purchased by the Peruvian and Panama merchants were loaded on mules, or on the small river boats. The pack trains, once loaded, moved out of Puerto Bello on the Panama road, while the *barcos* coasted west to the Río Chagre, entered the mouth, and commenced the ascent of the river. And, while the transactions were being effected, the *recuas* continued to enter Puerto Bello, laden with chests of gold and silver. The precious metals apparently could be left about without fear that they

¹³ Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 139-141; *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, 2d ed., 4 vols. (Madrid, 1756), libro IX, título XV, ley 81. Hereafter cited as *Recopilación*.

¹⁴ Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 139-140; Edmund Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, I. 293; Thomas Gage, *A new Survey of the West Indies*, p. 446.

¹⁵ Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 121.

would be stolen. Thomas Gage, who witnessed the fair in 1637, thus describes the unloading of the metals:

. . . but what I most wondered at was to see the *Requa's* of mules which came thither from *Panama* laden with Wedges of Silver; in one day I told 200 Mules, laden with nothing else, which were unladen in the publick Market place, so that the heaps of Silver Wedges lay like heaps of Stones in the Street, without any fear of being lost.¹⁶

The time allotted for the fair having elapsed, and the precious metals and other commodities having all been loaded, the galleons weighed anchor and started on the return voyage to Spain. The transfer of the commodities to Panama by mule or river boat, if not already accomplished, was completed. Temporary buildings and barracks, erected to take care of the influx during the fair, were taken down, and the officials, merchants, factors, and artisans returned to Panama. Thus the famous Puerto Bello fair ended, and Puerto Bello entered upon a comparatively inactive period, which extended until the time of preparation for the next fair.

COMMODITIES

The Spanish commodities placed on sale at the Puerto Bello fairs consisted of a wide variety of goods for the use of the Spanish forces on the isthmus, in Peru, and the other Spanish South American areas. For the most part they were finished goods, in contrast to the commodities which flowed back to Spain. Chief among them were the fabrics, which constituted probably the largest single item in the trade. These included linens, both white and blue, striped linens for mattresses, damask, canvas, and sail cloth. Other commodities which figured in the fair trade were: clothing for Negroes, tanned leather, leather goods, sesame oil, almond oil, cinnamon, cloves, caper, black pepper, cumin seed, anise, figs, prunes, marjoram, raisins, licorice sticks, hazelnuts, walnuts, chestnuts, gall nuts, almonds, vinegar, beer, cider, wines, spir-

¹⁶ *A new Survey of the West Indies*, p. 446; see also Juan and Ulloa, *Viaje*. I. 140.

itous liquors, lavender, rosemary, incense, hard soap, gum for ink, drugs and compounds, crude and refined wax, sulphur, white lead, copperas, linseed oil, minium, vermilion, verdigris, saffron, tar, pitch, gypsum, rope, cordage of all sizes, emery, whetstones, steel, lead, iron in bars and in plates, iron work and grating, sheets of tin plate, shovels, hoes, nails, wire, hammers, axes, musket balls, gunpowder, ramrods, weapons, paper, colored papers, glassware, writing desks, clocks, tables and other furniture, books of both Spanish and foreign impression, bricks, tile, and gravestones.¹⁷

Officially the shipments by Spanish merchants to the Indies were to consist, not of bulk shipments of one or some few commodities, but in shipments of a very diversified nature. In spite of this, however, it was common for bulk shipments of a few commodities to be made, and for the American merchants to acquire these *en bloc*, at times even before their unloading, and at reduced prices because of the quantity purchase.¹⁸

By far the major item for value in the Peru-Spain exchange were the precious metals. Certain staple commodities such as cacao, quinine, sugar, tobacco, and vicuña wool also figured prominently in the trade. Other items, mostly raw materials, which returned to Spain via the isthmus were: copper, tin, lead, shells, tortoise shells, hides, vicuña hides, tanned leather, tanned goatskins, tanning materials, jaguar skins, horsehair, seeded and unseeded cotton, wool, alpaca wool, guanaco wool, earthenware vessels, indigo, *carmin* (cochineal), *annatto* (a yellowish-red dye made from the arnatto tree), *copal* (a transparent resin used for varnish),

¹⁷ Joseph García de Prado, *Compendio general de las Contribuciones y Gastos que ocasionan todos los Efectos, Frutos, Caudales, y demás, que se trafican entre los Reynos de Castilla, y América* (Cadiz, 1762), pp. 44-67; "Aforo y Reglamento de las mercaderías. . . , 22 de abril de 1720", in Rafael Antúñez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la Legislación y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus Colonias en las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1797), apéndice XIV, pp. lvii-lxiii.

¹⁸ Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias* (Barcelona, 1917), p. 141.

mangle gum, *caraña* (an American gum), *cedadilla* (Indian caustic barley, the seeds of which were used as an insecticide and for snuff), canime oil, *oruca* (a refuse of grapes, cotton-seed, olives), Peruvian beans, chocolate paste, ginger, coffee, cocoa butter, cassia (a coarse variety of cinnamon), *canchalagua* (a Peruvian medicinal herb), *calagula* (a Peruvian herb), *contrahierba* (a South American medicinal antidote), anacardic, balsam, rhubarb, and extract of cascarilla (used as a tonic and stomachic).¹⁹

An analysis of the value of the commodities which passed through the Puerto Bello fairs when they were at their height would constitute a study in itself. Bernardo Ulloa estimates, however, that each of the twelve fleets which left Spain for the isthmus between August 4, 1628, and June 3, 1645, carried Spanish commodities ranging in value from eight to twelve million pesos, and that they returned to Spain with gold, silver, vicuña wool, and other commodities to the value of between twenty and forty million pesos.²⁰ This was at a time, it will be remembered, when the fair lasted but a fortnight.

THE TRANSACTIONS

In contrast with the fair at Vera Cruz, the transactions at the Puerto Bello fairs were largely conducted on a cash basis. The volume of precious metals flowing through the fair made this possible, but credit was not unknown, and became increasingly important in the later history of the fairs.²¹ Most of the transactions at the fairs were handled by brokers or by the factors of the Spanish and the Peruvian merchants. For the most part the transactions seem to have taken place on a basis of extremely good faith. There were instances of fraud,

¹⁹ Joseph García de Prado, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-132.

²⁰ *Restablecimiento de las Fabricas, y Comercio Español . . .* (Madrid, 1740), pp. 104, 107. But see "Relación histórica y geográfica de la provincia de Panamá, 1640", in *Colección de Libros referentes a la historia de América* (Madrid, 1908), VIII. 78. The latter account gives the amount of the exchanges at but six to seven million pesos.

²¹ Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Domnio de los Austrias*, p. 141.

sometimes on a large scale, but on the whole a fine *esprit de corps* seems to have been built up among the Spanish merchants and their representatives and the Peruvian merchants and factors. The fairs ultimately reached the point where the exchange of Spanish commodities for the precious metals and the other products of Peru was largely carried on by invoice, the chests of gold and silver as well as the bales and packages of Spanish goods not being opened for inspection by the purchasing merchants.²² According to Bernardo Ulloa, this good faith at the fairs even survived the incident of 1654, in which it was discovered that most of the silver arriving at the fair that year was considerably alloyed. In this case, the ultimate blame was fastened upon the tesorero of the Casa de Moneda at Lima, who paid with his life for his part in the affair. The Peruvian merchants ignored the whole fraud, and the entire loss was borne by the Spanish merchants.²³

In some cases, errors in packing resulted in the inclusion of sacks or bars of gold in the shipments of silver. In others the shipments contained more metals than was called for in the invoice. According to the practice which grew up, the first person noticing the error was to notify the parties concerned, and restore the surplus metal. If the fleet sailed before restitution could be made, the error was to be rectified in the following voyage.²⁴

But the transaction of trade by the use of factors was not without its objectionable features. Early in 1538, the Seville merchants called the attention of the crown to the fact that many of the factors were gambling with money that they had collected for the account of their masters. The crown took cognizance of the situation, and directed the Casa de Contratación to order that no playing cards or dice be thenceforth

²² . . . y en los caxones de plata, y barras del equivalente, en tan buena fee, que ni los caxones se abrian, como ni los fardos se reconocian; . . . Bernardo Ulloa, *Restablecimiento de las Fabricas, y Comercio Español*, . . . p. 109.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

taken to the Indies.²⁵ In November of the same year a *cédula* was dispatched to the audiencia of Panama calling attention to the losses which were being sustained by the Spanish merchants who had entrusted their funds to the gambling factors. It was ordered that no factor might play at cards, dice, or any other game involving the use of money. Penalties were provided, not only for the erring factors, but also for those who joined them in the gambling. The latter, if apprehended, were to spend thirty days in jail, while the money confiscated was to be restored to its rightful owners. Any surplus was to be divided equally between the informer, the magistrate who sentenced the offender, and the royal treasury.²⁶ In spite of all these edicts, the gambling continued, as also did the complaints of the Seville merchants. The factors were not, moreover, the only ones who transgressed the general rules against gambling. During the fairs, there was also much gambling and gaming among the officials, soldiers, sailors, and the inhabitants of Puerto Bello, who sometimes sustained large losses. This gambling apparently was sanctioned by the officials, but as a result of the reports which reached Spain, the president of Panama was ordered not to permit any gaming among the passengers and soldiers in the houses of any of the inhabitants of Puerto Bello.²⁷ As far as enforcement was concerned, this edict suffered the same fate as the edicts against gambling by factors.

In addition to their penchant for gambling, there was another objectionable feature in the employment of factors at the fairs. At times, there was considerable difficulty in securing prompt remittances from factors of the moneys which

²⁵ "Real cédula . . . para no dexasen pasar naypes ni dados a las Indias, 12 de febrero de 1538", in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones Españolas de Ultramar*, 24 ser., 13 vols. (Madrid, 1885-1900), X. 396-397. Hereafter cited as *Doc. inéd. de Indias* (ser. 2).

²⁶ "Real cédula . . . que no puedan jugar . . . los factores . . . 22 de noviembre de 1538", in *Doc. inéd. de Indias* (ser. 2), X. 443-445.

²⁷ *Recopilación*, libro VII, título II, ley 7.

they had collected for the account of their principals. This tardiness usually resulted from their gambling affairs or from the employment of the moneys in their own speculations. The crown early ordered them to send the proceeds of their collections back to Spain on the first ship leaving the isthmus after the moneys had been received, but there is no indication that this decree was any better enforced than the general run of Spanish colonial legislation.²⁸

PRICES AND PROFITS

The period of the fair saw a marked rise in the price level of goods and services. Lodging and quarters for merchants, being at a premium, commanded exceedingly high prices, depending of course on the size and location of the shop or lodging. Even at a time when the fair lasted but two weeks, an ordinary shop sometimes rented for as much as a thousand crowns.²⁹ In the later period, when the fair lasted forty days, stalls were rented for a thousand crowns, and large houses for as much as four thousand to six thousand crowns.³⁰ Lodging was proportionately dear, a poor lodging costing as much as 110 crowns for the period of the fair.³¹ Foodstuffs likewise underwent a rise in price. Gage complained that while he was at the fair in 1637, a fowl, which could be obtained elsewhere for one *real*, there cost twelve, and beef, which he frequently had purchased elsewhere at thirteen pounds for one *real*, at the fair cost two *reales* per pound.³²

Prices of the commodities entering into the Spanish-Peruvian trade were fixed at the opening of each fair. Before the commodities were unloaded and placed on sale, the representatives of the Spanish and Peruvian merchants, together with the royal officials, met on board the *capitana*, or ad-

²⁸ "Real cédula que . . . los factores . . . enbien . . . lo procedido . . . 6 de diciembre de 1538", in *Doc. inéd. de Indias (ser. 2)*, X, 445-448.

²⁹ Thomas Gage, *A new Survey of the West Indies*, p. 445.

³⁰ Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I, 139.

³¹ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, I, 293.

³² Gage, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

miral's flagship. Here, with the *almirante* of the galleons as patron of the Spanish merchants and the president of Panama as sponsor of the Peruvian merchants, the prices of the various classes of merchandise were fixed. These, together with a statement of the commodities which the fleet carried, were then publicly announced, and everyone was expected to conform to the schedule of prices without alteration.³³ No transactions were to take place before the price schedule had been announced, notwithstanding any obligations, bargains, and agreements which might previously have been made by the merchants.³⁴

It is somewhat difficult to determine the exact basis upon which the prices at the fairs were fixed. The cost of the goods to the Spanish merchant was the first of the series of influences which finally determined the price schedule. With this and the supply of, and the demand for, the particular commodity as the basis of calculation, it appears that the customary procedure was to multiply the price which the merchant had paid for the goods in Spain. Double the price seems to have been the usual figure. This, after allowing for the cost of transportation, deterioration, customs duties, and other expenses involved, apparently was designed to leave about fifty per cent profit to the merchant.³⁵ In the case of certain commodities, the announced price was set at from 150 to 300 per cent or more of the cost price to the merchants, depending on the supply which was present at the time, and the possibility that there might be a shortage of the commodity on the next fleet.³⁶

During the period before the establishment of the fleet system, when the departure of the ships from Spain was rel-

³³ *Recopilación*, libro IX, título XV, ley 85; Juan and Ulloa, *Viage*, I. 141.

³⁴ *Recopilación*, libro IX, título XXXIII, ley 45.

³⁵ Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias*, pp. 140-141.

³⁶ Bernardo Ulloa, *Restablecimiento de las Fabricas, y Comercio Español*, pp. 108-109; Manuel Colmeiro, *Historia de la Economía política en España*. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1863), II. 404.

actively free of regulation, prices were influenced considerably by the expectancy of ships in the near future. With the regularization of the fleets, this factor became less important, although there was always speculation as to the probable supply of a commodity that might arrive with the next fleet. When the interloping trade had become substantial, the influx of foreign commodities was sufficient to glut the market and to depress prices considerably. In some cases the fleets arrived at Puerto Bello only to find that foreign ships had preceded them. Considerable quantities of merchandise were thus thrown on the market, to the great detriment of the Spanish merchant, who sometimes found himself unable to dispose of his wares at any price.³⁷

There is some indication that the prices at the fairs may also have been fixed with reference to the volume of the precious metals which flowed through the particular fair. Bernardo Ulloa says:

. . . all it [the silver], the gold, and the [other] products had to be allotted in proportion to the clothing and other materials which came from Spain, without there being any excess of silver, nor [of] clothing. . . .³⁹

The cost of the commodities to the merchant in Spain, the expectancy of a greater or a lesser supply with the next fleet, and the amount of the precious metals flowing through the fair, then, were some of the factors which influenced prices at the fairs. Aside from these considerations, there was no rule or standard for prices in the trade between the Spanish and the Peruvian merchants. Prices were fixed freely with reference to these factors, without legislative interference. By a law of April 8, 1538, confirmed in 1633, it was decreed that:

³⁷ Bernardo Ulloa, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 107; Joseph Gutiérrez de Rubalcava, in his *Tratado histórico, político y legal de las Indias Occidentales* . . . (Cadiz, 1750), pp. 175-177, gives substantially the same explanation. In both these works the statement is made without any further explanation.

. . . we shall not consent that the merchants of these kingdoms, who carry wine, breadstuffs, or other sustenance, or merchandise to the Indies and adjacent islands, shall place on them a standard price . . . we permit them to sell them for as much or as little as they can. . . .³⁹

But in the ordinary retail trade, the consumer was protected by a clause in the same law which provided that, in the case of merchants who bought commodities for the retail trade, prices might be fixed by the local authorities.

On the basis of the cost of the commodities to the merchant in Spain, the average profit at the fairs seems to have been about 100 per cent, although profits of 150 to 300 and even 500 per cent were not uncommon.⁴⁰ By virtue of the risks involved in the Spanish-Peruvian trade, it would seem that the average profit was not excessive. The element of risks was great, for it was extremely difficult for the merchants to judge the market. Before the inauguration of the fleet system it was difficult to determine when ships would arrive, and what commodities they would carry. Even during the time when the galleons were employed, it frequently was not possible for the merchant to ascertain what amounts and varieties of commodities were being carried by the other merchants. The result was that merchants often arrived at the fair only to discover the supply of a particular commodity out of all proportion to the demand, with the consequence that prices declined or the merchant was unable to dispose of his wares. As the interloping trade became more brisk, it became correspondingly more difficult for the Spanish merchant to estimate the state of the market.

The question of profits at the fairs also turned somewhat on the quality of the goods carried to the isthmus by the Spanish merchants. Some of the traders were of such small means that they were unable to traffic in commodities of really excellent quality. The distinctly inferior goods which they handled were frequently resold at the fairs at prices far out of propor-

³⁹ *Recopilación*, libro IV, título XVIII, ley 6.

⁴⁰ Colmeiro, *op. cit.*, II. 404; Bernardo Ulloa, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

tion to their original cost, the profits of these merchants sometimes ranging as high as 500 per cent.⁴¹ But it was early discovered by the colonists that the foreign commodities carried by the interlopers were frequently of higher quality than those carried by the Spanish merchants. The competition with smuggled goods, then, was not only a question of price, but also of quality.

DECLINE OF THE FAIRS

In spite of the attempts of the Spanish crown to restrict the trade with the Indies to Spaniards or naturalized foreigners, there was from the outset a vast and profitable smuggling trade. This took two forms: the running of the customs by the Spanish merchants themselves, and the direct introduction of goods by foreigners. While the running of the customs resulted in the loss of considerable revenue to the crown, it made little difference in the status of the Puerto Bello fairs, for the trade was still in the hands of the Spanish. It was the interloping trade which struck at the roots of Spain's commerce with its Indies, and which indicated the general breakdown of the Spanish commercial organization.

While there were no parts of Spanish America free from it, the interloping trade flourished particularly in the region of Buenos Aires, and at Panama. That the extraordinarily facile way in which the goods were introduced and the quantities in which they were thrown on the American market was the result of the attitude of the colonial officials and merchants, hardly needs to be mentioned. The interloping trade began and continued because it was profitable not only to the foreign merchant, but to the colonial merchants and officials as well. At best the colonists were but meagerly supplied through the medium of the Spanish fleets. The list of commodities which already has been cited as passing to South America through the Puerto Bello fairs seems to be an imposing one. But it should be noted, without seeming to minimize

⁴¹ Bernardo Ulloa, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

the importance of the Spanish-American trade, that the volume of commodities was small relative to the population of the American areas. Restriction of the Spanish commerce to a few selected ports, and the concentration of the authorized trade in so few channels, had a tendency to make the trade appear more substantial than it really was. In the middle of the seventeenth century, for instance, the capacity of the Tierra Firme fleets seems to have been about 3,000 tons, although this was far from invariable. The ships rarely exceeded two to three hundred tons burden, and the fleets for the most part sailed only every two or three years. Commodities destined for western South America were packed across the isthmus with the help of but five to six hundred mules and half a hundred small river boats. The load of a mule was limited to a little more than two hundred pounds, while the largest of the river boats did not carry in excess of thirty or thirty-five tons. The volume of commodities which could be handled with such transport media, it is obvious, was relatively small.

The activities of pirates, and the numerous wars in which Spain was involved, were a further aid to the interloping trade. These interferences drove the Spanish commerce to cover, while the place of the Spanish commodities was taken by the foreign products, which were eagerly sought by the colonists. And there was another side to the story. This was that the foreign goods frequently were of better quality and of lower price than those which arrived on the periodic Spanish fleets. This appeal to the pocketbook was one which it was hard to resist, and so from the outset Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English interlopers plied their trade in relative security.

The Puerto Bello fairs, being the focal point for the trade of Spain with South America, became the target for the interlopers and the piratical groups which operated in the Caribbean areas. At an early time, Jamaica and other of the West Indian islands had become complete entrepôts for the smug-

gling trade, and from them merchandise was poured onto the market in quantity. Not the least of these interferences to the established order of things were the various slave *asientos* made with foreign powers. These were masks behind which the contraband trade flourished. The contracts usually allowed the *asentistas* to convey to Puerto Bello, as well as the other ports indicated for the trade, provisions for the use of their slaves and factors. This privilege was grossly abused. The mere presence at Puerto Bello of the commercial agents of a foreign power was objectionable, for they often were better informed as to the state of the American market than were the Spanish merchants themselves. While contraband trade took place under all of the slave *asientos*, it was the contract with the English that proved most disastrous to the Spanish commerce on the isthmus. This was not the fault of the slave *asiento* itself, but of that provision of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 which allowed the South Sea Company to send annually to the Puerto Bello fair for purposes of trade one ship of five hundred tons. On its face the provision for the *navío de permiso* might seem to have been relatively harmless, but it actually proved the means by which the English secured a firm foothold in Spanish commerce. It was specified in the treaty that this ship was not to exceed five hundred tons burden, but by a clever artifice, the ship was made to carry many times its normal burden. Relieved of the necessity of carrying large amounts of supplies by a stop at Jamaica, the ship would proceed to Puerto Bello, accompanied by five or six tenders. There the merchandise on board the *navío de permiso* would be unloaded, and its place taken by more merchandise which was transferred from the tenders. In this way, the single ship was made to carry as much as perhaps five or six of the Spanish galleons.⁴²

Where contraband merchandise was concerned, Panama in the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was like the fabulous milk pitcher which was continually full no matter

⁴² Juan and Ulloa, *Viaje*, I. 142.

how much was poured out of it. The extent of the illegal traffic on the isthmus may be gauged by the fact that between 1730, when a Spanish fleet arrived at Puerto Bello, and 1736, there was still in Puerto Bello and Panama European merchandise which went under the guise of "fleet" merchandise. This undoubtedly may be set down as a result of the untiring efforts of the South Sea Company. Although the merchandise was continually being carried on to Peru, it never seemed to be exhausted.⁴³ With this situation existing continuously, the decline of the Tierra Firme fleets, and likewise the Puerto Bello fairs, becomes no mystery.

As they have been here described, the periodic Puerto Bello fairs had ceased to exist by the middle of the eighteenth century. The interloping trade, which did not operate on any schedule, and the Spanish commercial reform of 1720, which allowed certain registered ships to sail from Spain directly to the western South American ports via Cape Horn, spelled the almost certain destruction of the fair organization. The last of the galleons appears to have reached Puerto Bello in 1737, and from that time on the number of ships reaching the port was insufficient to warrant the continuance of the fairs on their former scale. In 1754, when the Mexican *flota* was revived, it was decided not to reestablish the galleons for Tierra Firme, and with the Spanish trade thus definitely diverted to other channels, the *raison d'être* of the fairs vanished.

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⁴³ Juan and Ulloa, *Noticias secretas de América* (Madrid, 1826), p. 223.

DOCUMENTS

FRENCH PROTESTS AGAINST RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE WITH SPANISH AMERICA, 1788-1790

In July, 1788, the Count de Montmorin, minister of foreign affairs, received a memoir from the citizens of Nîmes through their deputies protesting against a Spanish *cédula* which forbade the importation into Spain of manufactured articles of silk designed for trade in the American colonies.¹ In September of the same year, Poirel, the vice-consul at Cadiz, wrote to the minister of the marine that French commercial interests were endangered by the prohibition of "all foreign cloths" into America. This letter was transmitted to Montmorin on September 21, and was followed by another on the 28th.² By the receipt of a letter from the Duc de la Vauguyon, ambassador to the court of Spain, dated September 25, Montmorin was informed early in October that the ambassador had presented a memoir of protest to Floridablanca, the Spanish minister.³ On October 15, Necker, the minister of finance also sent Montmorin a letter of protest from the deputies of the French "nation" at Cadiz.⁴

Necker admitted Spain's right to adopt a policy that would encourage its own manufactures, but foreigners should not be made "the victims of their confidence in a regime which at the time of their investment seemed likely to continue". He urged that every effort be made to have the edict withdrawn, but if this could not be done, then a delay in its execution should be obtained which would permit French business

¹ *Correspondence Politique Espagne*, Vol. 627, fol. 108-109; first memoir from the deputies of Nîmes.

² Vol. 625, fol. 233 and 238.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 236.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 274.

houses in Cadiz to sell their goods without too much haste to Spanish exporters.

On October 31, 1788, Montmorin wrote to Vauguyon that the king strongly approved the steps which the ambassador had taken, and instructed him to continue his efforts. The ministry would support him, for Floridablanca was habitually seeking favors in regard to French commerce.⁵ Montmorin also wrote to Necker the same day stating that the minister and the ambassador were handling the situation with all the speed and ability that were required.⁶

On November 16, Luzerne informed Montmorin that another letter from Poirel referred to a new tax of five per cent imposed on foreign goods at Cadiz; if it were allowed to stand, French commerce would be badly hit.⁷

News more encouraging was received from Vauguyon on November 17, who informed the ministry that the edict would not be enforced beyond 1788.⁸ He had notified Poirel to this effect, suggesting that the vice-consul pass this news on confidentially to the French traders at Cadiz to quiet their fears. On February 28, 1789, a *cédula* declared New Spain and Caracas freely opened to trade in national products, and contained the proviso that one-third the cargoes might be foreign goods.⁹

The *cédula* was silent as to the importation into Spain of stockings from Nîmes for shipment to America, and in July, 1789, the merchants of that city sent a second appeal to Montmorin.¹⁰ The minister transmitted their memoir to Marchand, the chargé in Spain, on July 28, calling attention to the memoir sent to Vauguyon the year before and instructing the

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 314.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 312.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 367.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 370-371. "Elle parait avoir eu pour objet de rendre dans ce moment aux fabriques Espagnoles un débouché que la quantité des draps étrangers qui se trouve actuellement en Amérique avait infiniment restreint".

⁹ Vol. 626, fol. 162-163. Vauguyon to Montmorin, March 2, 1789.

¹⁰ Vol. 627, fol. 106-107.

chargé to press the question with the Spanish ministry.¹¹ A modification had already been effected, and Montmorin must have had word of it soon after his instruction to Marchand, for on August 2 he notified Luzerne that a letter from the chargé announced the modification of the *cédula* by the court of Madrid.¹² Luzerne acknowledged the receipt of Montmorin's letter on the same day, and stated that he would notify the chambers of commerce of the kingdom.¹³

On October 19, Marchand reported what had been accomplished in securing trade privileges with Spanish America—namely, that the regulation permitting the exportation from France of a certain amount of the same kind of goods as those shipped from Spain at the same time had been expanded to include the troublesome silk stockings. There were still tricks to be watched for, the chargé added, for the department in charge of the expedition of foreign goods to America was not the same as the one concerned with the entry of goods into Spain. The revocation of the prohibitory edict, moreover, had not been made formal.¹⁴

The implication was plain that Spain had yielded nothing in principle. A third protest from Nîmes, this time to the national assembly, in November, 1790, shows that no permanent amelioration had been obtained.¹⁵ The documents follow:

FIRST MEMOIR FROM THE DEPUTIES OF NÎMES,
JULY, 1788¹⁶

A Monseigneur le Comte de Montmorin, Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat

La ville de Nîmes, une des plus considerable du Royaume, se trouve sur le point de voir la fortune d'un grand nombre de ses

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 105.

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 116.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 130. Ou August 22, 1789, the directors of commerce for the province of Guienne wrote to Luzerne to thank him for the good news (*ibid.*, fol. 163).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 303-304.

¹⁵ Vol. 629, fol. 388-390.

¹⁶ Correspondence Politique Espagne, Vol. 627, fol. 108-109.

citoyens entièrement perdue. Une fabrique qui occupe trente milles ouvriers à la ville ou dans les villes et campagnes voisines, est menacée de la ruine. Tel est l'objet qui prennent la liberté de vous recommander, Monseigneur, les Deputés aux Etats Généraux de la Sénéchaussée de Nismes. En 1786 les négocians de Cadiz donnerent aux fabricans de bas de Nismes des commissions considerables en couleurs et broderies bigarées, et propres seulement à la consommation des Indes Espagnoles. L'entrée de ces marchandises étoit libre. Une partie de ces marchandises fut retirée de la douane après avoir acquitté les droits; d'autres furent laissées en douane en attendant qu'on eut occasion de les vendre pour éloigner le debours des droits excessifs. Et une troisième partie n'arriva qu'au mois de Janvier, 1787, après la publication d'un édit qui prohiboit la vente de ces bas de fabrique françoise; ceux-ci arrivés à la douane ont été saisis. Ceux qui y avoient été laissés precedemment ont subi le même sort, et les premiers depuis la prohibition sont regardé comme contrebande et ne peuvent plus se vendre. Ces objets s'elevant à plus de quinze cent mille livres, perte que le commerce de Nismes ne peut soutenir sans être ecrasé.

Il demande donc que Monseigneur le Comte de Montmorin veuille bien l'appuyer de sa puissante recommandation au nom du Roi, ou pour qu'il lui soit permis de vendre en Espagne ces marchandises expédiées sous la foi publique et dans un moment où l'édit n'existoit pas ou étoit ignoré; ou que le gouvernement Espagnole veuille bien se charger de ces marchandises au prix qu'il trouvera equitable; ou y obliger les negotians ses sujets qui les ont commises. Car il est impossible aux fabricans françois de s'en defaire à aucun prix hors des Indes Espagnoles; comme il est aisé de s'en convaincre par la seule vue de l'échantillon qu'on remet avec le memoire.

La Justice de ces demandes merite l'attention du Roi qui veut bien honorer le commerce de sa protection, qui ne doit point permettre que ses sujets soyent ruinés par une entreprise qu'ils ont faite sur la foi des traités entre les deux couronnes et qu'ils soyent punis pour l'infraction d'un édit dont ils n'avoient pas eu connaissance.

Les fabricans de bas de Nismes ne cesseront point de faire des voeux pour la Conservation de Sa Majesté et de son Ministre.

[Signatures.]

MONTMORIN TO THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN SPAIN
[MARCHAND] TRANSMITTING THE SECOND MEMOIR
OF THE DEPUTIES OF NÎMES;¹⁷ VERSAILLES,
JULY 28, 1789¹⁸

[Extract]

Monsieur: . . . J'avais recommandé un pareil memoir à M. le Duc de [la] Vauguyon le 20 8^{bre} de l'année d^{re} 19 et cet ambassadeur m'a manda au mois de 9^{bre} suivant qu'il avait déjà appuyé le représentation des commerçants de Nismes et il joignit à sa lettre la copie d'un nouvel office qu'il venait de passer sur cette affaire à M. le C^{te} de Floride-Blanche. Il ne m'a point informé de l'effet que set office a pu produire. Vous voulez bien, M., le rapeller au ministère de S. M. C. Vous trouverez dans le memoire des Députés de la Sénéchausée de Nismes le tableau le plus frappant des pertes que les commerçants de cette ville auroient à supporter, si le Roi d'Espagne ne daignoit pas avoir égard à leur juste représentations. Je suis bien persuadé que vous ne negligerez rien pour le faire valoir et en procurer le succes.

SECOND MEMOIR OF THE DEPUTIES OF NÎMES TO
MONTMORIN, JULY, 1789²⁰

Les Députés de la Sénéchausée de Nismes eurent l'honneur de presenter à Monseigneur le Comte de Montmorin le mois de Juillet dernier, un memoir par lequel ils le supploient de vouloir bien s'intéresser pour las fabricans en bas de la ville de Nismes auxquels les administrateurs de la douane de Cadiz retiennent les bas expédiés sous la foi de traités et sans que les fabricans eussent aucune connaissance des lois prohibitives, qui n'avoient été faites qu'après l'expédition ou même depuis l'entrée en douane d'une quantité considerable de ces bas.

Les fabricans viennent d'apprendre que le Roi d'Espagne a rendu un decret le 17 7^{bre} dernier par lequel il permet que les rubans, soieries,

¹⁷ "Relatif à la cedula de 2 janvier 1787 qui a deffendu l'entrée en Esp des bas de soye brodés en couleurs et broderies bigarées propres seulement à la consommation des Indes Espagnoles".

¹⁸ No instruction to Vauguyon other than the one dated October 31, appears in the *Correspondence*.

¹⁹ *Correspondence Politique Espagne*, Vol. 627, fol. 105.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 106-107.

bas de soye, et fayences de fabrique étrangère soient embarqués par la suite pour les Indes Espagnoles comme marchandise permises, avec cette condition que dans le même chargement l'on mettra une égale valeur de marchandises nationales de même espèce.

Ce decret que les Négociants de Nismes croyent devoir à la puissante intercession de Monseigneur le Comte de Montmorin semble accorder ce que les fabricans en bas demandoient. Néanmoins, l'Administrateur de la douane de Cadiz prétend que l'ordre ne porte que sur les bas blancs dont l'entrée étoit permise en Espagne, mais qu'on ne pouvoit embarquer pour l'Amérique, et que les bas brodés en couleur ont toujours prohibés. Dans ces circonstances les députés de la Sénéchaussée de Nismes et les fabricans de cette ville supplient Monseigneur le Comte de Montmorin de vouloir bien encore accorder sa protection pour faire donner à cette loi l'extension qu'elle doit naturellement avoir puisque le decret au Roi n'excepte rien, et qu'il énonce sans reserve les bas de soye.

Ces fabricans seroient menacés d'une ruine totale si cet objet qui s'éleve à près de quinze cent livres étoit confisqué.

Ils ne demandoient que la permission de retirer leurs bas de la douane en acquitant des droits prescrits par les ordonnances et de pouvoir envoyer aux Indes une marchandise qui ne peut avoir de debit que dans ces contrées. Le sequestre en douane si longtems prolongé est un grand malheur pour eux ; puisqu'il est bien à craindre que les couleurs de ces bas ne soient altérées.

Les fabricans espèrent que leur demande si juste, appuyée par la puissant intercession du Ministre du Roi aura enfin un succès favorable, et ils continueront leurs vœux pour Monseigneur le Comte de Montmorin.

[Signatures.]

ADDRESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF GARD TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY;
NÎMES, NOVEMBER 20, 1790²¹

Messieurs : . . . Depuis que la cour d'Espagne a adopté un système qui paroît aussi contraire à ses veritable intérêts qu'au génie de ses peuples ; depuis qu'avec une faible population et presque sans agriculture, ambitionnant de s'emparer de toutes les manufactures et de

²¹ Correspondence Politique Espagne, Vol. 629, fol. 388-390.

fournir seule à l'immense consommation de ses colonies elle a espéré vaincre tous les obstacles par la prohibition rigoureuse de tous les ouvrages de manufacture d'étrangère, la principale Branche de la fabrique des Bas de Soie de Nismes a été anéantie, et avec elle s'évanouie l'aisance d'une population nombreuse dont-elle occupait les Bras dans villes et dans les campagnes.

Une valeur d'environ huit cent mille livres, produite par les travaux de douze cent cultivateurs, recevoit par ses mains un accroissement de quinze cent mille livres, qui fournissoit salaires à près de huit mille ouvriers.

L'Assemblée administrative n'a pu considérer une telle perte sans le plus vifs regrets; et sans rechercher les moyens de la réparer, s'il est possible. Elle n'a pu voir que dans un traité de commerce entre la France et l'Espagne, entre deux nations, qui, par ancienneté et par l'intimité de leur alliance, sembleroient ne devoir former qu'une seule et même famille. Ce moyen, Messieurs, est uniquement dans vos mains et dans celles du Roi. Votre sollicitude pour le bien-être des peuples vous excitera à l'embrasser; et votre sagesse en assurera le succès.

L'état de dépopulation où se trouve l'Espagne et la foiblesse de la culture dans la plupart de ses provinces semblent lui commander d'appliquer le petit nombre de Bras actifs qui lui restent à multiplier ses denrées et ses matières premières et de laisser à d'autres le soin de fabriquer celles-ci. La France pourroit recevoir en exemption de tous droits celles de ces matières qui s'en trouvent chargées à l'entrée et leur assurer ainsi la préférence dans le Royaume à celles qu'elle tire des autres pays étrangers. Mais il seroit juste que l'Espagne à son tour, admît les ouvrages des manufactures françaises sous des droits modérés et avec quelque préférence sur celles d'autres nations. Il faudroit surtout qu'elle en permit la libre introduction dans toutes ses possessions de l'Amérique par les vaisseaux Espagnols, comme avant les prohibitions.

Ce traité seroit avantageux aux deux nations. L'Espagne donnant plus de Bras à sa culture s'affranchiroit du Tribut de plus [de] vingt millions, qu'elle paye chaque année aux peuples de l'Afrique, qui lui fournissent leurs Bleds [*sic*], et verroit grossir son trésor public du produit de ses douanes par les droits qu'elle ne manqueroit pas d'imposer à la sortie de ses matières premières et par ceux auxquels nos ouvrages seroient assujettir à l'entrée.

D'un autre côté si l'introduction de certaines matières premières retardoit les progrès de quelquesunes de nos productions nationales, ce préjudice ne pourroit être que momentané, et seroit bientôt amplement compensé par la plus grande exportation de nos ouvrages fabriqués.

Mais si les intérêts commerciaux qui existent entre les deux nations n'offrent pas des compensations mercantiles votre sagacité en trouvera, Messieurs, de plus déterminant dans la politique et vous penserez que quelques sacrifices fait au rétablissement du commerce, des manufactures françaises, bien loin d'être onéreux à l'Etat, deviendroient bientôt une source de prospérité.

ADMINISTRATEURS DU DEPARTEMENT DU GARD.

[ABSTRACT]

FIRST MEMOIR OF THE DEPUTIES OF NÎMES, JULY, 1788

The livelihood of thirty thousand workmen in the city and its vicinity is threatened. In 1786, the French merchants in Cadiz placed large orders for stockings designed solely for the Spanish-American trade. Shortly before the arrival of the third and last consignment of these stockings, a Spanish edict was issued prohibiting their sale. The entire lot, valued at upwards of fifteen hundred thousand livres, was seized as contraband. The Count de Montmorin is prayed to have the confiscated merchandise taken over either by the Spanish Government or by Spanish merchants at a fair price, for there is no sale for it outside the Spanish Indies.

MONTMORIN TO LE MARCHAND, JULY 28, 1789

The protest from Nîmes was brought to the attention of the Spanish minister [Floridablanca] in November, 1788, by the French ambassador. The protest is to be renewed, in view of the second protest received from Nîmes.

SECOND MEMOIR FROM THE DEPUTIES OF NÎMES, JULY, 1789

Reference is made to the first memoir. The Spanish decree was modified in September, 1788, to permit various articles of French manufacture to be shipped to the Indies on condition that Spanish merchandize of the same kind and value should make up fifty per cent of the cargo. But the customs administrator at Cadiz interpreted the new order to mean that only white stockings, not colored embroidered hosiery, were to be exported. The deputies appeal to have the provisions of the new edict applied unreservedly. They ask for no more than permission to ship the stockings then being held in the customs house, although they fear that these have already been damaged by long storage.

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, NOVEMBER 20, 1790

Nîmes is one of the most important centers for the manufacture of silk stockings in France. This industry has been crushed by Spain's efforts to supply this article to its colonies. Twelve hundred growers produced a raw product valued at about eight hundred thousand francs which, after manufacture, became fifteen hundred thousand and paid the salaries of nearly eight thousand workers. To repair this loss a new commercial treaty will be necessary, and this the king and the national assembly are prayed to obtain. Spain should plan to produce the primary necessities of life and leave to others the task of providing manufactures. Reciprocity of customs imposts would benefit both countries. It is most important that permission for the free introduction of French goods into all Spain's American possessions be granted, the goods to be carried on Spanish ships. If Spain devoted itself entirely to agriculture it would be saved the more than twenty millions paid at present to Africa for grain. Export and import duties would provide much revenue to the Spanish treasury.

Any temporary inconvenience from the introduction of Spanish products into France would soon be compensated by increased exportation of French manufactures, but even if this should not immediately follow, the political compensations implicit in a commercial union should be the decisive factor.

GEORGE VERNE BLUE.

Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Vol. I., Argentina; Vol. II., Bolivia and Brazil. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1932. Pp. XXXVI, 789; XXVI, 544).

Relatively little of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States for the period between 1831 and 1860 has ever been printed. Such documents as were made public during those decades appeared here and there in divers congressional publications now difficult to procure. For the periods before 1831 and after 1860, the material is both more abundant and more readily obtained. The annual volumes of *Foreign Relations*, which began appearing in 1861, provide accessible and, for ordinary purposes, adequate material for the later period, up to 1918 or thereabouts. The papers for the period before 1831 are available in various collections. The revolutionary correspondence has appeared in two editions. The first, compiled by Jared Sparks and published in twelve volumes a century or more ago, proved to be faulty. The second, prepared by Francis Wharton and published at the Government Printing Office in 1889, is much more satisfactory. The correspondence for the interval between the close of the revolution and the beginning of the constitutional era has also been published, an edition of seven volumes appearing in 1833, and another in three volumes in 1837. The material for the years between 1789 and 1830 is less abundant, though six volumes of the famous collection of *American State Papers* are made up entirely of selections from the correspondence of those years. Moreover, the last two decades of that period were greatly enriched by the publication in 1925 of Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*. The series now beginning to appear is a sequel to that of 1925. Its completion will put the study of the relations between the United States and the Hispanic American countries in a favored position as far as published documents are concerned.

The present series will embrace about half the material preserved

at the state department for the period covered. Fortunately, the compiler was under no restraint in making the selection of documents to be published. He was under no obligation to guard state secrets or to consider individual or national susceptibilities. He was free to weigh and choose. His sole test was the historical value of the document. Accordingly, he included nothing that seemed ephemeral or inconsequential, and omitted nothing that seemed to have an important bearing on the relations between the American States. By training, by temperament, and by experience, Dr. Manning was well qualified to undertake the task; and, if we may judge from the volumes that have come from the press, he has performed it in a highly satisfactory way. But there will be disappointments. Obviously no selection can meet every possible need. Inevitably missing documents will be found to contain facts essential to the prosecution of certain types of investigation. It would hardly be possible to avoid such a difficulty by any means short of the publication of every scrap of material. That of course could not be done without entailing a heavy additional expense. It appears to have been a question of a part or nothing at all. That the part was so large and so well selected will be a matter of gratification to all students of inter-American affairs.

The two volumes in hand embrace the correspondence with three countries: Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil. Argentina comes off with the lion's share of space, 789 pages to 113 and 431 for Bolivia and Brazil, respectively. The disparity between Argentina and Brazil is surprising. Of the two countries, Brazil was regarded at the time as the more important. Representation was maintained continuously by the United States at Rio de Janeiro and by Brazil at Washington throughout the period. Between the United States and Argentina, on the other hand, relations were interrupted for a period of ten or a dozen years. In the circumstances, the bulk of material from which the compiler drew his documents for publication must have been as great in the case of Brazil as in that of Argentina, if not greater. The difference is to be attributed no doubt to the greater relevancy of the Argentine material. The Falkland Islands question, the conflicts between Argentina and the neighboring states, the intervention of France and England, and the efforts of the United States to mediate, gave rise to a mass of correspondence which was in great part selected for publication. There was much discussion, to be sure, between Brazil and the United States relating to these same international complications; and

there were other subjects of great importance, such as the opening of the Amazon to navigation and the suppression of the slavetrade, that occasioned many exchanges between the two countries. Naturally all this material was selected for publication. Yet the Brazilian correspondence turned in a great measure upon petty disputes and private claims (see Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil*) and to that extent was marked for omission. The scant allotment to Bolivia arises from another cause. There was in this case comparatively little from which to choose, as our relations with the Bolivian republic did not begin until 1848. Relatively little, it appears, was omitted. Moreover, the quality of this correspondence is on the whole superior. By far the greater part of it comes from the pen of John W. Dana, who represented the United States at La Paz from 1854 to 1859. His communications, written with great insight and confined as they were largely to matters of broad concern, such as the navigation of the tributaries of the Amazon, the relations between Bolivia and the neighboring states, and the attitude of the southern republics toward the filibustering enterprises then going on in Central America, are more interesting and perhaps more important than any that emanated from Buenos Aires or Rio de Janeiro.

It is expected that other volumes of the series will soon come from the press.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

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Porfirio Diaz, Dictator of Mexico. By CARLETON BEALS. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1932. Pp. 463. \$5.00).

Here is recounted the rise and fall of a dictatorship—one of the most notable of modern times, certainly the most famous in the annals of Hispanic America since independence. Here is

the bright drama of a leader who fought his way up by sheer will from Indian (*sic*) poverty. . . . With unflinching purpose and boundless energy, he shaped and reshaped armies, against unbelievable odds, carved victories out of defeat. . . . By sheer genius he seized the reins of power to wield them for a third of a century.

Here also is tragedy,

the tragedy of all power embodied in one human being, the tragedy of a man who lifts a nation beyond its innate capacities, and who perforce must compro-

mise with the strong at the expense of the weak, who must forget principles to protect his own position. . . . At the end, being flesh and blood, he fell . . . and with him fell the brave edifice he had raised.

Mr. Beals traces the career of Díaz from his childhood and school-days in his native Oaxaca, through his struggles on behalf of liberal principles in the war of the reform, through the war of the French intervention, through his struggles to seize the presidency, the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship, his eventual overthrow, exile, and death in Paris [date (?)].

It would be scant praise to say that this is the best biography of Porfirio Díaz, considering the wholly unsatisfactory character of prior works on the subject. This is vastly superior. The picture of the dictator, although not differing in essentials from that already known to competent authorities, is presented with a fullness of detail never before achieved. Mr. Beals, primarily interested in personalities and intrigue, capitalizes on his possibilities and devotes ample space to the crafty and cruel maneuvering of Don Porfirio in checkmating ambitious rivals. The Porfirian dictatorship was an application of Napoleon's definition of Caesarism: "the ambition of one against the ambition of all—a death struggle against ideals, against parties, opposition, crime, disorder". "Divide and rule" was his motto. Certainly this work is not deficient in exposing the methods of dictatorship. Yet, despite its unquestioned value, one is constrained to characterize it as near-historical fiction.

The publisher announces this as a definitive biography. The author modestly, but correctly, disavows this claim. An exhaustive study he says,

would require ten instead of four years, for little spade work has been done in the field, and nearly everything published heretofore has been paid publicity, eulogistic flattery or bitter condemnation. . . . I can only hope that this will stimulate others to do what I have been unable to do.

It is highly problematical, however, whether Mr. Beals, even with the required ten years at his disposal, could write definitive history until he acquaints himself with the rudimentary canons of historical science. The rôle of the historian is to relate facts faithfully according to the evidence. Mr. Beals, journalist and liberal expositor of contemporary conditions, political, social, and economic, in neighboring Hispanic-American countries, feels that historical narrative must

be colorful and dramatic, even at the expense of drawing on pure imagination. In his own review of a biography which he characterized as "specialized super-accurate historical research", he criticised the author's "too rigid adherence to the direct documentary material" thereby losing "dramatic possibilities" (*The Nation*, August 24, 1927, pp. 184-185).

In his *Porfirio Díaz*, Mr. Beals refuses to be rigidly bound by the evidence. What "must have been" he presents as authentic history; for example, the colorful picture of Díaz's natal environment and the happenings of his childhood. He introduces conversations which he says "bear the earmarks of truth". To get atmosphere he retraced the steps of Díaz's marches through the Oaxacan wilderness and elsewhere. The work does not lack in atmosphere and imagery; but unfortunately, it does lack the essential means of retracing the author's own steps, i.e., citations to references and bibliography. But these are prosaic adjuncts of scientific historiography; a flight of fancy such as the conversation between Díaz and Clio, gives the work, in the author's opinion, a greater value.

When Clio asked Díaz whether the Archives of Bazaine did not contain evidence damaging to his reputation, Don Porfirio (per Beals) responded,

Some damaging evidence there about the Oaxaca siege and my relations with the imperialists, but now not even your most honest and painstaking investigators, lovely Clio, will ever lay eyes on it.

If Mr. Beals had not been so busily occupied on his "atmospheric" tours, he might have discovered that the Archives of Bazaine (60,000 pages) are in the García Collection of the University of Texas Library. There are also in the García Collection numerous letters written to Riva Palacio by Porfirio Díaz, and practically every one of them Díaz concludes with a joke. If Mr. Beals had examined this correspondence he would not have attributed to the Dictator "lack of humor". Indeed it is not too much to say that a definitive biography of Porfirio Díaz cannot be written without consulting the García Collection.

In further evidence of the fact that this is not "super-accurate historical research", some additional errors are to be noted. Says Beals, "Tolstoi heralded him [Díaz] as the greatest political genius of the age, his government 'unique in history'." It was not the famous

Russian, but a Mexican, Adolfo Carrillo, who, under the pseudonym "Tolstoi", wrote a eulogy of Porfirio Díaz (cf. *El Universal*, Mexico, January 21, 1933). Such an error arouses one's curiosity as to how many more could be detected if the author gave his references. The Aztec rule, says Beals, extended "clear to the Texas and Arizona deserts—a domain larger than modern Mexico". Neither was the Aztec domain larger than modern Mexico nor did it extend very far north of Mexico City. Finally, the Pan American Conference which met in Mexico in 1902 was the second, not the fifth.

The author's caustic allusions to Obregón, Calles, and the contemporary state of Mexican politics, are interesting in that he damns the revolutionary régime which only a few years ago he accorded fulsome praise. His years of residence in Mexico should have taught him what to expect of Mexican politicians. Not even Juárez, who, in the end, proved to be so tenacious of power, is excepted. The absorption of the revolution by grafting, exploiting "capitalists" is bitter, yes, but it was confidently expected—except by Mr. Beals blinded by radical idealism.

This book is not written in the style one would expect of a study prepared with aid from the Guggenheim Foundation. Such slang expressions as "know his onions", "corral and kosher", and "Diaz was cracked", do not make for dignified expression. Nor does pornographic metaphor such as occurs on page 322. It appears that brilliancy was aspired after, but the result was too much smartness.

The University of Texas.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

South America: Lights and Shadows. By KASIMIR EDSCHMID. Translated from the German by OAKLEY WILLIAMS. (New York: The Viking Press, 1932. Pp. 408. Illus.; map. \$5.00.)

This volume by the German globe trotter Kasimir Edschmid assumes to portray the travels of a fellow German, whom he calls Goehrs, into various countries of South America, and to set forth the thoughts called up by his wanderings and contacts. By this convenient method he gives expression to his own sentiments.

Goehrs, presumably a young man in the late thirties, would seem to have as the basis for the claims made for him that he has "discovered South America anew" a good intellect and broad travel expe-

rience, but little else. Even the trip itself appears to have been very brief, although the author never indicates anything in the way of time, but he successively left Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil before the outbreak of revolutions which followed rapidly on the heels of one another, and so could not have spent any more time than the ordinary tripper, with his one-boat stop-over here, and his week or two there. His trip, indeed, was entirely conventional, representing visits to the capitals of Chile and the four countries just named, together with such voyages or land journeys as were necessary to get from place to place; indeed, where a choice was offered, Goehrs preferred the water, thus limiting his opportunities for observation. The only side journey in the whole tour was the trip to Cuzco—again conventional. Between ports, Goehrs busied himself, one gathers, with reading such books as might be available in the ship's library about the next country on his list. In this way, to be sure, he did get some information—more than most travelers bother their heads about, including not a few who have written books. The gaps in his knowledge are all too obvious, however, to one who has any real familiarity with the field, and there is internal evidence that he did not know his Spanish any too well. Throughout, too, it is difficult to suppress a feeling of dislike for the supremely self-satisfied, smug, young German, who presumes on the basis of one quick voyage to interpret a continent to the world.

And yet the book has some real merit, and is worth reading. If books of travel may be divided into the four component parts of information, interpretation, the author himself, and what may be called mere vacuum, the average shelf-cluttering work of this type might have proportions of 10 per cent, zero, 20 per cent, and 70 per cent respectively, in the order given above. The Edschmid book would reach a higher level, with, say, 20 per cent, 20 per cent, 50 per cent, and 10 per cent. And nearly all the book, even including the conceited Goehrs, is interesting.

There are two prominent bits of interpretation, one of which constitutes the most brilliant feature of the book, even though the impression given out is wrong. This concerns itself with the Indians in the Andean countries, reaching its height in the Bolivian chapter; Goehrs may have stayed a week in Bolivia! Yet the tremendous problem of the Indians has rarely been more graphically portrayed, even if the reader is left with the idea that countries like Ecuador, Peru,

and Bolivia are utterly hopeless. They are indeed backward in many respects, but even a superficial study of Hispanic-American history would reveal notable advances in the course of the century since independence.

The other note of interpretation is with respect to "the Yankees". According to Goehrs, this unpleasant people has an organized campaign for the acquisition of all South America, carrying its astute program to the length of deliberately incurring great losses in order to get the South American business! The South Americans with whom Goehrs talked were, in the main, caricatures. Only the Germans and, to a lesser extent, the English, were really normal people. Goehrs's [Edschmid's] antipathy for Americans is carried to amusing extremes at times. For example, he liked the amiably famous Mrs. Bates, of Quinta Bates, Arequipa. So he refers to her as English!

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California, Berkeley.

Documents illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America.

By ELIZABETH DONNAN. Vol. III. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research, 1932. Pp. XIII, 553.)

The 480 documents assembled in the first two volumes of the series (reviewed in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII, No. 3) illustrate the history of the African slave trade to the new world from 1441 to 1807, with emphasis upon "the English trade to the British West Indies". Arranged under two divisions, the 370 documents of the present volume purport to treat "New England and the Middle Colonies". As a matter of fact, they treat Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, with no or only slight reference to the other colonies classed in the two groups. Of the two groups treated, the New England group occupies four-fifths of the space. The lack-of-space argument in the prefatory remarks is inadequate defense for this glaring disproportion. A better proportion could have been secured within the same space by omitting dozens of insignificant and repetitious documents on Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The original plan intended to devote only a single volume to all the

English colonies which revolted and formed themselves into the United States. The present plan is to present the documents relating to the southern colonies in a fourth volume. In bringing out the forthcoming volume the editor will of necessity confront the dilemma of an unwieldy product or of eliminating the class of material included in the third volume. Certainly, none can deny that the slave trade to the southern colonies was far more important than that to the New England and middle colonies.

Again (see Vol. XII. No. 3, of this REVIEW), the reviewer can not refrain from expressing regret that the scope of the series did not make possible treatment of the slave trade to the *Americas* rather than to *America*, and up to 1863 rather than up to 1807. A plan with the larger scope, aside from considerations of unity, would have avoided confusion both in the title—*i.e.*, the meaning of *America*—and in the dates delimiting the trade. One of the most prolific periods in the African slave trade, especially for *American* citizens, including New Englanders, was the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

As in the first two units, the texts in volume three vary greatly in length and in subject matter treated. In the latter connection, one finds included such topics as laws for regulation and exclusion, prices paid for Negroes on the African coast and in the colonies, diseases decimating the victims on the voyages to the new world, the numbers imported, and a myriad of other subjects. Capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations seem to be uniform with the previous issues, though the introductions to the two divisions of volume three fall short of the high standard set earlier. A forty-page index and clear printing enhance the volume.

Despite the minor criticisms offered, the reviewer expresses appreciation for this third volume of the series and joins the historical guild in the hope that the final product will make its appearance in the near future.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

Ohio State University.

The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé, 1853-1855. A Study in the Cuban Diplomacy of the United States. By AMOS ASCHBACH ETTINGER. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932. Pp. 559. Illus. \$4.00.)

Pierre Soulé, the adventurous Frenchman who attained political prominence in the United States as a result of his campaigns favoring slavery, states rights, and imperialistic expansion, has by no means an enthusiastic biographer in Dr. Ettinger. Soulé's inconsistency and extravagance, as well as his violent passions, are well described in this sturdy volume under review. The incidents which led to the failure of what, perhaps, was the most cherished ambition of Soulé—the acquisition of Cuba—are authoritatively discussed in the light of valuable documents obtained through an exhaustive research in the United States, France, Great Britain, and Russia.

The book is full of interest—an interest mainly supplied by the peculiar personality and reactions of Soulé himself—but at times it becomes tedious because of the excessive quotations from newspapers, many of which might have been omitted without impairing the force of the arguments or the interest of the narrative. Dr. Ettinger fails to emphasize the large interests of the queen mother of Spain in the Cuban slavetrade as a leading factor for the Spanish refusal to consider the alienation of Cuba. The latter, on account of the sugar industry, was a good client for African slaves smuggled into Cuba in spite of the treaties, and headed a concern controlling that illegal traffic and its huge profits, which would have come to an end had the island been alienated.

The author seems to admit the British interest in the suppression of the slavetrade and slavery in Cuba as wholly based upon moral principles. He might have added, however, that abolitionism in the British West Indies had placed free labor there on an unfavorable footing as compared with its half million slaves earning no wages. Therefore, economic interest had its weight in the British crusade to suppress the slavetrade. A score of years later, when the Cubans suppressed slavery as one of the first steps in their struggle for independence, and Spain adhered to the traffic, there is no record that the emancipated slaves caused a change in the British attitude regarding the link between Cuba and Spain.

Many of the assertions of Dr. Ettinger in connection with the

early attempts by General López to promote a revolution in Cuba, and the character and details of the López expeditions to that island, are in error. These errors may be attributed to the fact that, like some other historians, he depends almost exclusively upon sources in English or in French, only occasionally consulting newspapers published by Spaniards or the book of a highly prejudiced Spanish historian. The Cuban bibliography regarding the López expeditions appears not to have been consulted by Dr. Ettinger. *La Verdad*, *El Filibustero*, and other Cuban organs in the United States at that time and during the Soulé mission, have also been ignored, as well as the papers in the Cuban archives. It seems to the reviewer that the time has come for United States historians, when investigating Cuban matters, to give more attention to what has been published concerning them in Cuba, in order to avoid the errors and misconceptions which are frequently made. In speaking of López's expeditions, Dr. Ettinger is in error regarding the number of attempts made by López before his capture and subsequent execution, and again when he makes the United States responsible for López's expeditions. There was no abiding apathy of the United States administration which tried to prevent the departure of the expeditions and twice succeeded in so doing, thus frustrating the two best prepared and coördinated efforts made by López to put an end to Spanish domination in Cuba.

The chapter entitled "Cuba and Slavery in World Affairs to 1851", can not be considered as being on the same level as the rest of the volume under review. The best parts of the work are undoubtedly those dealing with the mission of Soulé and its incidents, Mr. Marcy and his policies, and Dr. Ettinger's interpretation of the Ostend Manifesto. Many obscure points of the meeting at Ostend and the rôles played by the American diplomats there, Dr. Ettinger explains with skill. He also adds new and valuable information regarding the inner working of world affairs at that particular epoch. The papers relating to these matters have been very intelligently considered and interpreted by Dr. Ettinger.

A case in point is found in the first chapter.¹ In this Dr. Ettinger has contributed an excellent study for the bibliography of world

¹Part of this chapter was submitted to the Royal Historical Society (by which it was awarded the Alexander Prize in 1930) and published by the Society in its *Transactions*, under the title "The proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain".

diplomacy relative to the possession of Cuba in the fifties of the last century. Here, in addition to United States sources, those from Great Britain, France, and Spain are used. Unfortunately, however, the author was not able to consult the Spanish sources as minutely as he did those of the three leading nations which discussed at that time the future of Cuba without consulting the wishes of the people of Cuba.

Very radical conclusions are reached in this chapter concerning the tripartite convention and the disposition shown by President Fillmore and Mr. Webster when they were first consulted by the European diplomats as to the United States attitude toward the proposed convention. All the evidence he presents seems to uphold his opinion. Mr. Webster's death, the turn of events with the election of General Pierce, and other circumstances caused the United States not to consider the British and French proposals formally, and perhaps not to enter into a compact guaranteeing Cuba to Spain. As a matter of fact, Mr. Webster had always been in favor of guaranteeing Cuba to Spain, regardless of Cuban sentiment, owing to his fears of Cuban annexation. The tripartite convention would have been a more radical step in that direction and in accordance with his policies.

The tripartite convention of 1852, as had happened before with a former proposal for a tripartite convention relative to Cuba in 1825, was not carried out, but the main objective of all three powers desiring Cuba was attained in 1852, just as it had been attained before, and was to be attained after that date: France, Great Britain, and the United States demonstrated a common purpose regarding Cuba, namely, that of hands off in order to avoid a transfer of the island to any one of the powers.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, D. C.

The Eagle and the Serpent. By MARTÍN LUÍS GUZMÁN. Translated from the Spanish by HARRIET DE ONÍS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. 360. \$.)

Among other fruits of the Mexican revolution of the past two decades is the rise of a new school of national writers, gifted young men for the most part, who are turning from verse, so universally cultivated in Hispanic America as a medium of expression, to the more virile and realistic vehicle of prose. The novel especially has received

a fresh impetus and, through the skilful pens of Mariano Azuela and others, is winning international recognition. Scarcely less significant are books of the type of *The Eagle and the Serpent*, which is essentially a narrative of personal experiences during the unhappy period when rival generals in various parts of the republic were actively subordinating the lofty ideals of the revolution to the furtherance of their sordid ambitions.

This volume deals with what may be termed the Carranza phase of the revolution in which the author was a conspicuous actor as a civilian, though not as an adherent, of Don Venustiano. The numerous journeys in and out and across the republic, which the various official positions of the writer compelled him to make in those chaotic days, permitted him to view many incidents and to obtain a close-up acquaintance with many historic personalities. This account proves that exciting adventures, imprisonment, and narrow escapes from death were not restricted solely to the military elements in that distracted country. Intimate portraits of revolutionary leaders such as General Eulalio Gutiérrez, president *pro tem* of the government, and members of the convention held in Aguascalientes are given, but the personality which pervades the pages of this volume, leaving the author's aside, is that of the merciless, half-savage Pancho Villa. A large part of the book is concerned with the sometimes gruesome exploits of this guerrilla leader and the writer's hazardous association with this now legendary hero of the border. Indeed, the climax of the narrative is reached when the author, secretly working against Villa, inveigles that wily and ruthless general, who did not hesitate to kill in cold blood with his own revolver when his wrath was aroused, into permitting him to board a train and thus escape the vengeance of the suspicious chieftain.

Frequently, the thread of the narrative is broken by graphic accounts of incidents in the pitiless warfare waged by the revolutionary chiefs. For stark realism and dramatic intensity the reviewer has read few things to equal the description of the horrible massacre of three hundred defenseless prisoners by the lieutenant of Villa, Rodolfo Fierro who, like a fiend incarnate, coolly and with scientific precision, shot down the whole number, in groups of ten, as they were forced to run past him in a hopeless effort to escape his unerring aim. In a few unforgettable pages the author has sketched the horror of this revolting spectacle and its aftermath (Chap. XII). Similarly, he

has described the pathetic plea of an unfortunate in Mexico City to escape an undeserved sentence of death imposed by government officials in a stern effort to maintain order (Chap. XVI). Also the barbarous method of extracting forced loans from helpless civilians used by the military chieftains to pay their soldiers is vividly portrayed (Chap. XIX). These fearful pictures are painted in swift, powerful strokes denoting a complete mastery of forceful, incisive prose. It is a tribute to the translator that little of this is lost in the English version. By such books as this, one is brought to comprehend the period of travail and suffering through which the Mexican nation has recently passed; nor can the reader fail to be moved to view with sympathy the difficult situation of our southern neighbor in its effort to solve its vast social problems, which in magnitude dwarf our own.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

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The Black Napoleon. The Story of Toussaint Louverture. By PERCY WAXMAN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [c1931]. Pp. [viii], 298. Bibliography.)

The Story of Haiti from the Discovery of the Island by Christopher Columbus to the present Day. By HARRIET GIBBS MARSHALL. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, [c1930]. Pp. 177, Index. \$2.00.)

The first of these books is a well-written, just description of the extraordinary career of a most remarkable man. The general excellence of the work justifies one in making extensive comment regarding it.

It is to be regretted that there is no list of contents, no index, and no good map. The absence of both contents and index is irritating; and the sketch map on the fly leaves only accentuates the need of a better one. It is also to be regretted that the origin of the "old prints" of which reproductions are given, is not acknowledged—Marcus Rainsford's *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (1805), from drawings by himself. In the fairly complete bibliography, it is misleading to give the New York reprint of 1873, of Harriet Martineau's book without reference to the original London edition of 1840.

A bibliography of Toussaint L'Ouverture—i.e., works with his

name on the title-page, including books, pamphlets, and magazine articles—comprises forty-four items, in addition to numberless works on the revolution in Haiti which treat on the subject. One of the works, by Lamartine, is in the form of a dramatic poem, and one by Harriet Martineau (and one of the best) is in the form of a novel. In addition, Whittier and Wordsworth have honored him in poetry, and Wendell Phillips in prose.

After reading the life of that wonderful man, Toussaint L'Ouverture, one feels with Carlyle who wrote:

In all my poor historical investigations, it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage enquired after—a good portrait, if such exist; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, any representation made by a faithful human creature of that face and figure which he saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all.

Of the biographies of Toussaint, seven contain portraits. First comes the one in the life of Cousin d'Aval, published in Paris, 1802, secondly, that by Captain Marcus Rainsford which appears in his *Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* referred to above; thirdly, one in the *Historie de l'Expedition des Français à Saint Domingue*, by Antonie Metral (1825); fourthly, one in the *Memoirs* by Saint-Remy (1853); fifthly, one in Beard's life of the same date; sixthly, that published in the life by Gragnon-Lacoste (1877), and seventhly, one in Vaucaire's life, published recently in Paris.

We know that Rainsford's portrait was drawn by himself, but it was probably done from memory, and this swashbuckler-like figure does not suggest the type of man Toussaint suggests, despite the fact that to impress his fellow Negroes he ever went amongst them with the utmost pomp. Gragnon-Lacoste's portrait is that of a much more refined and intelligent face with a high forehead and a suggestion of Arab blood: it is said to be "authentique", but that does not make it necessarily a good likeness. It is the only one without a hat and shows a high intellectual forehead. He wears the queue which we know Toussaint affected. The "beau portrait gravé par Choubard", in Saint-Remy's work, is that of a young man much younger looking than the fifty years at least which Toussaint had reached when he became a French general, but it is stated to be authentic and that the original of it was given by Toussaint to Roume, the agent for France in Spanish Santo Domingo, who at one time had a high regard for the com-

mander-in-chief, by whom it was reciprocated. In this portrait he also wears a queue. The other portraits are apparently merely book illustrations.

Gragnon-Lacoste thus describes Toussaint:

He was of average height, with a free bearing. He did not lack that dignity which ought to belong to a leader in full command; his oval and almost beardless face had a nose with open nostrils, thick but expressive lips: his sparkling eyes reflected his fiery soul. If his forehead appeared devoid of hair, it is because he brushed his hair back, so as to make it an elegantly shaped pig-tail which he wore in French style; in every way he tried to appear as a gentleman.

Saint-Remy says:

He was small and thin, active and indefatigable; if he had an ugly mouth, he had magnificent eyes which flashed with genius, an attitude which commanded universal respect.

Mr. Waxman, after reading the various descriptions, thus summarises them:

At the time of his marriage Toussaint was a man of medium height, powerful, wiry, with an ungraceful but dignified figure. His face was decidedly homely. He possessed a forbidding prognathous jaw. His lips were thick, his nose broad and flat, with nostrils wide and open. His voice was high-pitched, nasal, and none too pleasant. His most commanding feature was his eyes.

One likes to feel that Gragnon-Lacoste's portrait and description are to be believed.

Mr. Waxman gives us, one feels, a true unbiased picture of the career of this wonderful man, probably the most noteworthy that the Negro race has produced—many of whose biographies have tended to either blame or praise unduly. In his preface he says

As far as the life of a Negro born in slavery can be said to resemble the life of a free white man, Toussaint's history presents many striking parallels with Napoleon's. They were both born in humble circumstances, speaking of course in a purely relative sense. Both Toussaint and Napoleon reached the heights through their own genius and ability to make full use of their opportunities. They both rose to prominence on the heels of a bloody revolution. While Toussaint Louverture, however, spent his life in the cause of Negro freedom, Napoleon's supreme efforts were inspired by a desire to make France the mistress of the world and himself the master of France. Both Toussaint and Napoleon were spurred on by a limitless personal ambition, but while Toussaint's underlying dream was to establish a race of free men, Napoleon was eternally obsessed with the yearning to found a dynasty.

Both Toussaint and Napoleon became famous not only as military leaders but also as political executives. Both men were distinguished by great personal courage in the field, and both were idolized by their soldiers. In many respects, on the miniature stage of San Domingo, Toussaint played much the same kind of rôle that Napoleon performed so brilliantly in the vaster theater of European affairs.

He goes on to point out several similar incidents in their careers and then adds

shortly before his death Napoleon said to his secretary Las Cases, "I have to reproach myself with the attempt made upon San Domingo during the Consulship. I should have been satisfied to govern the colony through Toussaint Louverture."

After giving very useful introductory chapters, Professor Waxman ably steers his way through the complicated shifting scenes of the rebellion in Haiti, decrees and counter decrees from France; commissions from France who fought amongst themselves; military governors from France who merely complicated matters; and the unsuccessful invasion by the English at the request of the white colonists.

Toussaint, who was born in or about 1743, was fortunate in that his parents were slaves on the estate of Bréda near Le Cap owned by Count de Noé, who, like Monk Lewis in Jamaica half a century later, treated slaves with consideration and justice, and had a manager who was of a kindly nature. Promoted from the field to be a coachman, Toussaint devoted his spare time to his education and thus paved the way for his future career and the betterment of his fellow slaves, in which he was encouraged by reading Raynal's history.

He was often called on to take sides—now with Spanish troops, now against them, now for the French Republic, then for the monarchy—now with the colored folk, then against them, but through it all he kept the welfare of his race at heart, matching many a better educated man in diplomacy.

When after five years the ill-supported English expedition had withdrawn from Haiti, Toussaint turned his attention to the development of agriculture and organized a system of apprenticeship of Negroes to planters similar to that which was later adopted by the British; and, within ten years of being a slave, he became absolute commander-in-chief of the whole of the island of Hispaniola, exercising at all times a broad-mindedness which most of his fellow Negroes failed to understand.

The misfortune in his career was his need to employ that fiend

Dessalines as his lieutenant. A serious error was his sending a ready-made constitution for the island to Napoleon, whose ire it raised, ultimately leading to Toussaint's downfall.

His career, which should have ended in glory, closed in starvation and death in a climate fatal to a resident of the tropics, through the negrophobia of Napoleon and the perfidy of his brother-in-law Le Clerc—meted out to one who had been through his life true to both friend and foe.

Professor Waxman, after considering the various causes which were supposed to have caused the rising of 1791, remarks somewhat sententiously: "It apparently did not occur to any of these astute investigators that perhaps the main reason why the slave rose against their owners was that they wished to be free". Years of study of the history of slaves and slave-owners leaves one with the impression that there were a large number—it may have been a minority, but an important minority—of estates where the masters were just and considerate, and the Negroes were contented with their lot. The rising in San Domingo would not have taken place as early as it did if it had not been for the fall of the Bastille and similar acts.

Mrs. Marshall's book is what it professes to be a simple text-book for the use of children. It covers the ground as well as can be expected in the space at disposal. It is well to use the names of monarchs and presidents to mark the trend of history, but this work is rather overloaded with names which are nothing more than names, which might fittingly have been replaced by social historical notes. The record treats of needless bloodshed on the one hand and fantastic aping of royalty on the other, as though they were the ordinary things for Negroes to do. The most interesting portions of the book are the closing chapters on Development and brief notes in the Appendix on Education, and Black Democracy. The frontispiece is a portrait of Dessalines, "Liberator of Haiti" and today considered Haiti's hero, whom the author whitewashes. Dessalines merely reaped with blood where Toussaint Louverture had sown as peacefully as he could. It is to be regretted that there is no map, and that in the bibliography the dates of publication of books cited are not given.

FRANK CUNDALL.

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Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies. By RUTH KERNS BARBER. (Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, Vol. VI, October, 1932. Pp. 127.)

In the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for February, 1931 (Vol. XI., 89-91), appeared a review of the reviewer's *Encomienda in New Spain* by John Tate Lanning, in which he made some valuable criticisms, namely, that the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias* should have been used more exhaustively and that the study should have been carried beyond 1550. These suggestions of Professor Lanning seem to have been the point of departure for this monograph of Miss Barber, as in her admirable digest of the *Recopilación* she has added greatly to our knowledge of the encomienda, its purpose, nature, and extent. Moreover, her bibliography of sources carries us to the end of the colonial period. Her pertinent extracts from such contemporaries as Solórzano, Antonio de León, and Juan López de Velasco do much to illuminate her text. But the scope of her thesis is much too vast for the reduced space of her monograph, even if one considers the scanty materials available for such a broad study. Then, too, some of her secondary material should have been used more sparingly and with proper warnings to the reader. Such a source is the famous *Noticias Secretas* of Juan and Ulloa, written by two boys at a time when it was fashionable to write snappy stuff about Spanish blundering in America. Other such sources are Tornero's *Historia general de América desde la Conquista hasta neustros Días* (in one volume), which is undocumented and uncritical, and Schoenrich's *Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future*, which devotes all of thirty-two undocumented pages to three hundred years of the Spanish occupation in Española. Miss Barber has been able also to dispense with the great Humboldt.

More care should have been exercised by the author in quotations and citations. The reviewer is grieved to note that Schoenrich is apparently given credit (p. 31) for certain statistics on the encomienda which he painfully dug up himself. Later (on p. 107), Miss Barber quotes the reviewer's translation of a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to Bishop Fonseca, placing brackets around a passage in italics. The passage, however, is *not* an interpolation, but is in the original.

The complaint of the present reviewer as to the summary nature

of Miss Barber's treatment of a vast subject is one that has been directed at his own study in the same field. The reason for such a treatment is readily apparent to the researcher, for the materials for such a study are mostly restricted to the laws. As yet no one has discovered the records that will give us the story of the encomienda from the business end of it. Until some one does, we must be content with the one-sided approach from above.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

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Ferdinand Magellan. By E. F. BENSON. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. Pp. xiii, 262. \$4.00.)

Hawkins, Scourge of Spain. By PHILIP GOSSE. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. Pp. xii, 290. \$4.00.)

These two volumes portray two of the greatest seamen of all time: one a Portuguese in Spanish service; the other an Englishman sailing under the English flag. The world of today is greatly indebted to them both. In no uncertain sense, they advanced the art of navigation. Both were honest, daring, and resourceful. Both knew the value of discipline and both knew how to command. Magellan, single handed, performed the greatest single feat in the whole world of navigation and discovery; Hawkins was unquestionably the father of the British navy.

Both books are excellent popular accounts. Neither author professes to have made new researches. Benson made constant use of Guillemard's excellent *Life of Magellan*, still in many respects the best life of that great seaman. He also made use of Lord Stanley's translation of Antonio Pigafetta's journal of the great voyage of circumnavigation, which he calls an admirable translation. The latter is, however, a very unscholarly piece of work, as was demonstrated in the new translation brought out in 1906. Gosse made extensive use of the researches of J. A. Williamson and of other researches. Benson's conclusions differ in some respects from those of Guillemard. These need careful checking. Moreover, he belittles the record of Pigafetta on grounds that seem insufficient. But there is no doubt of his admiration for Magellan and his great voyage, and his general findings will not be disputed.

Gosse has well brought out the character of Hawkins, his method-

ical, careful work that left nothing to chance, and his persistency. As the treasurer of the English navy, he performed a work that no one at that time could have done as well. Less brilliant than his kinsman Drake, he builded more securely.

Magellan, by his discovery of the straits that bear his name and his crossing of the Pacific Ocean, made possible the Spanish domination of the Philippines. Hawkins, by his smuggling and offensive exploits in the Indies of the west showed conclusively that Spain had no real security in its new domains. He, as well as Drake, showed the new England something of the height to which it could climb.

Both volumes are better than the average popular biographical and historical work. As delineations of character they are excellent and as such largely fulfill the purpose of their writing.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla. By FRANCISCO NAVAS DEL VALLE. Precedido de una *Historia General de Filipinas.* By PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. Vol. VII. (in two parts). (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1932. Part I., pp. ccxlv, 207; part II., pp. 446. 30 pesetas.)

As explained in Vol. VI. of this work, this and succeeding volumes of this work are to consist of two parts (bound separately) because of the increasing number of manuscripts to be listed as the history of the Philippines is unrolled. The present volume, both in its "Historia General" and its "Catálogo de los Documentos", covers the years 1618-1635, or the terms of Governors Alonzo Fajardo (1618-1624), Geronimo de Silva (1624-1625), Fernando de Silva (1625-1626), Juan Niño de Tavora (1626-1632), Juan Cerezo de Salamanca (1632-1635), and until the arrival of Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (1635), one of the great rulers of the islands. Pastells's narrative, as in former volumes, consists in part of quotations from the original documents, thus making it a veritable mine of information. If one read the list of documents correctly and carefully, he will be able to supplement the narrative in many places; and as in former volumes of this series, this volume is a supplement to the Blair and Robertson series, *The Philippine Islands*. In this volume, the Spanish history of the Philippines is seen to be becoming more varied. The govern-

ment is becoming more complex, trade is expanding, the mission work is broadening, and the contacts with other parts of the orient are tending to become more tense and varied. There are rumblings of discord between regulars and seculars, with the civil government now on one side now on another. The efforts of the missionaries in Japan arouse the fear of the Japanese that the Spaniards are bent on the subjugation of Japan and there is a consequent massacre of some of the missionaries and their converts. Of compelling human interest is the murder of his wife by that honest governor, Fajardo, because of her dereliction of wifely duty—the poor woman was probably bored to death by the lack of gayety in Manila and the governor with all his good qualities (he died poor) was probably not any too good company. But Manila (the walled city) is now taking on more and more some of the characteristics of a Spanish city and the panorama of life is beginning to unroll at a more rapid tempo, and to take on those characteristics that were to last until the roar of Dewey's guns were a forerunner of new forces that were to do their part in the moulding of the population of this oriental archipelago. Not the least interesting part of the volume is the contact with the Dutch who have invaded the orient to lock horns there with their European enemy. Pastells has reproduced various lists made in 1634 of the Spanish inhabitants of Manila and of widows of encomenderos who reside in Manila and its suburbs—these now (1933) a part of the chartered city of Manila), which are of importance as showing the growth of the Spanish population. In the "Catálogo de Documentos", documents Nos. 10317-15945 are listed, from which one can easily see the richness of the materials. It should be noted that many of these documents exist in modern (hand written) transcript form in the Philippine Library in Manila. The narrative part shows the same excellencies and defects to which attention has been called in other issues of this Review. The publication is an admirable undertaking and it is hoped that it will be carried to an end.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

UNITED STATES-ARGENTINE COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS OF 1825

A commercial treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces of South America (shortly to become the Argentine Confederation) was completed and signed at Buenos Aires on February 2, 1825. The successful negotiation of this treaty was regarded as a victory for Great Britain in its commercial rivalry with the United States in that region and as such excited the concern of John M. Forbes, the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States at Buenos Aires. He at once became active in an effort to protect and further the commercial interests of his fellow-citizens in the Rio de la Plata.¹

The Anglo-Argentine treaty provided for reciprocal freedom of commerce; most favored-nation treatment in tariff and port dues; the right of British merchants and commanders of ships to manage their own affairs as did natives of the United Provinces; freedom of the British to buy, sell, and bargain in the United Provinces; exemption by each of the nationals of the other from compulsory military service or forced loans or military exactions or requisitions; consular privileges; no sequestration or seizure by either nation of property of the citizens of the other in case of war; freedom of British subjects from molestation for religious views and to support their own chapels; freedom of British subjects to dispose of property by testament; and coöperation of the United Provinces with Great Britain in suppressing the slave trade—the former to prohibit its citizens from taking any share in such traffic.²

Forbes, of course, knew of the treaty negotiations between Great

¹For a discussion of this rivalry in its wider political aspects, see J. Fred Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America, 1808-1830* (Baltimore, 1929) pp. 9-21, 137-149. E. J. Pratt's article, "Anglo-American Commercial and Political Rivalry on the Plata, 1820-1830", *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XI. 302-335, is excellent, but omits discussion of the negotiation of the Anglo-Argentine treaty and its repercussions as they concerned Forbes and the Americans.

²*British and Foreign State Papers*, XII. (1824-1825), 29-37.

Britain and the United Provinces. On December 6, 1824, he addressed to Minister for Foreign Relations García a note in which he submitted "certain facts and observations connected with the commercial views and just expectations of the United States". He reminded the minister that the liberal system of commercial reciprocity had its origin in legislation of the United States of 1815 in which a general offer of reciprocal duties on navigation was made to all governments that should choose to accede to that system.³ This being true, no government had a fairer claim to reciprocal rights and advantages of commerce than that of the United States. The minister was reminded that the United States had not demanded and would not have accepted special privileges of any kind in return for an acknowledgment of independence and they had a right to insist that such privileges should not be granted to other nations. Forbes declared that his government would maintain its right to be treated "on the footing of the most favoured, or as it is more properly expressed, the most friendly Nation".⁴

Therefore, after Forbes had obtained a copy of the treaty with Great Britain, he again addressed García in these emphatic terms:

I demand in the name of the United States that every political religious or commercial right or privilege conceded to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty by that treaty should simultaneously and ipso facto be enjoyed by the citizens of the United States of America, with the sole condition that similar reciprocal engagements to those made on the part of his Britannic Majesty be agreed and consented to by the United States.⁵

In reply, García asserted that the United Provinces were ready to conclude a treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the Republic of the United States upon the same bases on which it appears to have been made with H. Britannic Majesty.⁶

³ This is the act of March 3. The removal of United States duties with respect to any foreign nation was to take effect when the president should be satisfied that the discriminating or countervailing duties of that nation, so far as they operated to the disadvantage of the United States, had been abolished. See *United States Public Statutes at Large* (Peters ed., Boston, 1861), III. 224.

⁴ William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations* (New York, 1925), I. 642, 643.

⁵ Forbes to García, February 23, 1825 (MS., Department of State, Dispatches from Argentina, II.).

⁶ March 3, 1825 (*ibid.*).

In his instructions, the late minister of the United States to the United Provinces, Caesar A. Rodney, had been empowered to make a treaty of commerce,⁷ but Forbes as *chargé* could not act without new and explicit instructions to that effect. He wrote a dispatch informing his government of the readiness of the United Provinces to conclude a treaty on the same basis as that with England⁸ and awaited further instructions.

Before this dispatch reached Washington, Secretary of State Clay had drawn up new instructions for Forbes—instructions which outlined very fully the attitude of his government on commercial relations with the Platine nation. The president, said Clay, was desirous of placing the commerce and navigation between the United States and all the new governments on the liberal basis provided for in the acts of Congress of March 3, 1815, and January 7, 1824.⁹ This might be accomplished either by mutual regulations adopting its principles or by a convention. If the object were effected by reciprocal measures, both parties would retain the power to put an end to the continuance of it whenever either of them might think proper to do so; if by a convention, that power would be parted with during the existence of the compact. Forbes was directed to urge immediately upon the government at Buenos Aires the expediency of accepting the proposal contained in the act of January 7, 1824. If it should be preferred to effect by convention the object desired, the president had no objection to that course, but in that event he would consider it most advisable that the negotiations be conducted at Washington. If, however, the government of the United Provinces should desire the negotiations to be carried on at Buenos Aires, the president would yield to its wishes. In the latter case the necessary powers would be transmitted to Forbes.

Secretary Clay discussed at some length the disadvantages of the most favored-nation arrangement. It might not be, scarcely ever was.

⁷ Adams to Rodney, May 17, 1823 (Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 191).

⁸ Forbes to the Secretary of State, March 26, 1825 (MS., Department of State, Dispatches from Argentina, II.).

⁹ The latter act applied the reciprocity feature of the act of March 3 (see note 3) to the Netherlands, Prussia, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, the Duchy of Oldenburg, Norway, Sardinia, and Russia, and empowered the president to issue a proclamation of reciprocal exemption in case of any foreign nation abolishing discriminating duties on vessels and goods of the United States (*United States Public Statutes at Large*, IV. 2, 3).

equal in its operation between two contracting parties; fair competition was not secured. The rule of the most favored nation was not so simple as the proposed substitute.

By placing the admission into Ports of Buenos Ayres, of a vessel of the United States and her cargo, being of their produce and manufacture, upon the same footing with the admission into those ports of a like cargo imported in a vessel owned by a resident citizen of Buenos Ayres, and vice versa, the simplicity which it is desirable the rule should possess, will be secured, and all causes of misunderstanding be prevented.¹⁰

Forbes communicated to the government at Buenos Aires the suggestion of legislation embodying reciprocal treatment in commercial matters of the citizens of each. Such an arrangement was to embrace the liberty of conscience and of religious worship, and every other right which had been conceded by treaty to the subjects of Great Britain.¹¹ In a conference with the minister for foreign affairs a week later the subject was discussed. The minister wished to know why the United States did not desire a treaty; he seemed to suspect some hidden motive. He was told that it was the policy of the United States to adjust such matters by legislation. When the minister insisted on a treaty he was informed that if the president should consent to a treaty he would suggest negotiating it at Washington and the United Provinces had no representative there.¹² García replied that he would give the matter consideration. In later correspondence on the subject, García continued to insist on a treaty, while Forbes persisted in "a general and frank declaration of reciprocal rights and privileges".¹³

It seems somewhat strange that Forbes should not have submitted to a treaty, even one negotiated at Buenos Aires, as his instructions permitted, when it became evident that he could not secure his end by

¹⁰ Clay to Forbes, April 14, 1825 (MS., Department of State, Instructions to Ministers, X. 258-266).

¹¹ Forbes to García, September 6, 1825 (MS., Department of State, Dispatches from Argentina, II.).

¹² Carlos María de Alvear had been appointed minister of the United Provinces to the United States, and had appeared in Washington late in 1824, but had almost at once returned to Buenos Aires. Several years passed before another diplomatic representative was sent to Washington.

¹³ Forbes to Clay, November 29, 1825 (MS., Department of State, Dispatches from Argentina, II.).

legislation. It is true that Clay had explained at length the desirability of the latter arrangement, leaving no doubt that the president wished such an adjustment. Forbes may have seen in the emphasis on that point a justification for persisting in the effort to secure legislation. He may have expected, too, that a change in the political situation in the provinces would afford him a chance of succeeding. When a decided political change did occur, the country became almost at once involved in a war with Brazil which absorbed the attention of the government.

It is clear that, in 1825, the United Provinces were willing to negotiate a treaty of commerce. That such a treaty was not negotiated cannot be charged to opposing British influence but must be attributed rather to the insistence of Forbes on an acceptance of the favorite plan of reciprocity through legislation. That neither treaty nor legislation became a fact is perhaps not greatly to be regretted from the viewpoint of the United States, because for some years conditions in the Plata basin were so disturbed that the existence of a treaty or particular laws of the sort desired at Washington would probably have very slightly affected American commerce.

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ADMIRAL ANTONIO EULATE

In the year 1897, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's jubilee, the queen regent of Spain sent a man-of-war—the battleship *Vizcaya*, commanded by Captain Antonio Eulate—to represent Spain at the naval celebrations to be held at Spithead, England. On the closing day of the jubilee, when the commanders of the various ships, who were acting as the representatives of all the great world powers, received a commemorative medal from the then Prince of Wales, the commander of the *Vizcaya* found himself beside the captain of the U. S. cruiser *Brooklyn*. He was to renew this acquaintance soon, but under the fire of battle.

Some months later, news was received in Madrid of the intended visit of the U. S. battleship *Maine* to Cuban waters. As a reciprocal act of courtesy, the Spanish government sent its ship of goodwill—the *Vizcaya* under Captain Eulate—to New York. However, during its trip from the Canary Islands to New York, the explosion of the

Maine occurred. Arriving off Manhattan in a storm that kept even one of the Cunard liners from entering port, Captain Eulate received word of the unfortunate catastrophe at Havana. Though aware of the rising hatred toward Spain among the Americans, Eulate entered the port without waiting for the storm to abate and anchored off the Statue of Liberty. We can imagine the excitement that ran through the city next morning at finding a Spanish man-of-war at its very doors. The press immediately interpreted this as an act of aggression on the part of Spain. But Eulate's affable and courteous manner, as he came ashore and rode alone in an open carriage to the Spanish consulate, soon produced a more friendly feeling.

After explaining in an interview that evening at a banquet in his honor the reason of his visit to New York, he was asked what attracted him most in the United States. Among other things, Eulate responded, "The beauty of the American women"—a tactful utterance which undoubtedly created a favorable impression. This was heightened when Eulate declared a day for women visitors on board his ship where he received all with his well known gallantry, himself assisting in serving the refreshments.

When the *Vizcaya* left port a week later, the newspapers were advancing the theory that Eulate had been sent by Spain to counteract the ill-feelings resulting from the sinking of the *Maine*. So much had the deportment of this one man benefited his nation. Eulate was also to renew his acquaintance with New York, less honored but under no less honorable circumstances.

But it was in South America, in the year 1892, that Eulate first came into contact with a citizen of the United States. The story, little known outside of diplomatic circles, was frequently told by Philip C. Hanna, who was then American consul at the seaport town of La Guayra, Venezuela. It appeared that a minor revolution was in progress under a certain Eschevarra. This leader had captured the town and imprisoned all the influential citizens, in the hope of securing ransom. Hanna by chance had spent the day in the country and on returning to the town at dusk was met by one of his servants who warned him of his danger. Hanna was nonplused. He must act quickly, but where was aid to be had? The government's forces were busy in Caracas. The consuls of the other foreign powers were prisoners in the town jail; while all means of outside communication were in the occupied town. Then Hanna remembered that a Spanish de-

stroyer had but lately anchored in the harbor, and that the young commander had spoken of himself as an admirer of the United States. Resolved to ask his help, he skirted the town and finding a skiff rowed out in the darkness to the *Three Georges*.

Lieutenant Eulate, for it was he, listened to Hanna's request, and after declaring his own personal willingness to be of help, said that he feared lest he compromise his government. But after Hanna had persistently urged the necessity of some action being taken in order to bring relief to the imprisoned citizens and consuls, Eulate with a twinkle in his eyes, for he was a lover of action, responded over his glass of champagne, "I will comply on condition that you display the United States flag on the expedition and that my action be considered one of courtesy from one great nation to another". Two dozen marines accompanied Hanna ashore.

At daybreak, with his small and temporarily Americanized force, Hanna appeared before the jail and demanded the release of those unjustly held for ransom. For a moment the guards hesitated, but only for a moment; Hanna had ordered the rifles to be raised. Without paying a cent or firing a shot, all were released, among whom were the consuls of Great Britain, France, and Germany.

But this was not the end of the episode. The government at Caracas hearing of the aid given by Eulate, indignantly complained to the authorities at Madrid that a Spanish armed force had landed on Venezuelan territory. As a result, Eulate was cashiered; but like a true sailor he never complained.

No sooner did Philip Hanna learn of Eulate's misfortune than he exerted every effort not only to clear the Spanish officer of all blame but even tried to obtain recognition and award for his generous aid at that time of need. He wrote to President Cleveland explaining the circumstances and the subsequent misfortune to Eulate. The president graciously interested himself in the matter and requested Secretary of State Richard Olney to communicate with those governments whose consuls had benefited by Eulate's timely assistance at La Guayra. All these nations sent a petition to the Spanish government requesting that he be exonerated and suggesting that he be rewarded for his humane act. The government at Madrid, being appraised of the truth of the matter, reinstated Eulate and promoted him to the rank of captain.

These three incidents, extending over a period of six years, com-

prise Antonio Eulate's first contacts with the United States. Within a period of six months during the year 1898 he was to renew them all, in the same order but under far different circumstances: Hanna at San Juan; the commander of the *Brooklyn* at Santiago; and the citizens of New York as a prisoner of war.

As above said, the battleship *Vizcaya* remained at New York only a week after the sinking of the *Maine*, and then proceeded to southern waters to join the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera. Immediately upon the declaration of war, the *Vizcaya* was ordered to San Juan, Puerto Rico. And here it was that Eulate renewed his first acquaintance. Philip Hanna, though American consul at San Juan, had not as yet heard that war had been declared. Imagine his surprise on receiving this information from the commander of an enemy battleship and a personal friend. Next day, Hanna and his wife went to the nearby Danish island of St. Thomas, but not before enjoying supper and an evening's chat over old times aboard the *Vizcaya*—an admirable example, this, of friendly enemies.

It was during the first few months of the war that the Spanish squadron acquired the name of "La escuadra fantasma", for it was never found to be in the harbor the United States fleet had taken pains to block. Realizing the superior numbers and modern equipment of the Americans, the Spaniards planned to encounter a part of our fleet at a time. So it was a constant chase from one port to another, until the Spanish boats were bottled at last in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. They had arrived forty-eight hours before the United States fleet, but could not find sufficient coal nor the facilities for loading it in time to steam out again.

In this port occurred the heroic act of the international sinking of our ship, the *Merrimac*, in order to block the narrow passage of the harbor. Lieutenant Hobson with some others had volunteered to take the small vessel under the Spanish fire and sink it in the entrance to Santiago Bay. He but partially succeeded in his attempt and, as was expected, was captured. As enemies of war the prisoners were to be shot, but Eulate interceded for them. More, he dispatched to the United States fleet outside the harbor a small boat flying a white flag carrying news of the safety of Hobson and his men and asking for their clothing. When Eulate sailed out to battle next day, the prisoners were left ashore out of danger—certainly another deed by Eulate worthy of admiration.

At six o'clock on July 2, 1898, orders were received to prepare for battle. Eulate ordered all his men on deck. Standing in the midst of his officers and men, he saluted the flag of his ship as it was raised aloft, and then in a few words he encouraged his men for the coming disproportionate combat, concluding with these words, "I, your captain, have spoken in the name of your country; now your chaplain will speak in the name of God. All kneel!" And turning to the naval chaplain, he said, "Father Biesa, give your blessing to these four hundred men, for tomorrow we die for Spain". On the morrow, Eulate renewed his acquaintance with the cruiser *Brooklyn*.

Of the brave but hopeless dash for liberty and the unequal battle that followed, Admiral "Fighting Bob" Evans's own account in his book of memoirs *A Sailor's Log* is perhaps the most vivid. I quote briefly his references to the *Vizcaya* and her commander.

Presently a boat came alongside bearing Captain Eulate, commander of the *Vizcaya*. That was a sight I shall never forget as long as I live. In the stern, supported by one of our naval cadets, sat the captain, covered with blood from three wounds, with a blood-stained handkerchief about his bare head. Around him sat or lay a dozen or more men. In the bottom of the boat, which was leaking, was a foot or so of blood-stained water and the body of a dead Spanish sailor which rolled from side to side as the water swashed about. The captain was tenderly placed in a chair and then hoisted to the deck, where he was received with the honours due his rank. As the chair was placed on the quarter-deck he slowly raised himself to his feet, unbuckled his sword belt, kissed the hilt of his sword, and, bowing low, gracefully presented it to me as a token of surrender. I never felt so sorry for a man in all my life. Of course I declined to receive the sword, or rather I instantly handed it back to Captain Eulate, but accepted the surrender of his officers and men in the name of Admiral Sampson, our commander in chief. My men were all crowded aft about the deck and superstructure, and when I declined the sword the brave hearts under the blue shirts appreciated my feelings and they cheered until I felt ashamed of myself.

As I supported the captain toward my cabin, he stopped for a moment just as we reached the hatch, and drawing himself up to his full height, with his right arm extended above his head, exclaimed, "Adios, *Vizcaya*!" Just as the words passed his lips the forward magazine of his late command, as if arranged for the purpose, exploded with magnificent effect. After he had been attended to by the surgeons he occupied a part of my cabin, and did all in his power to aid me in making his officers and men comfortable.

The prisoners of war were landed at Annapolis. Captain Eulate was given further medical attention, and was permitted intercourse with his own men and even with outside visitors, in spite of the fact

that of all the Spanish prisoners he alone refused to give his word not to escape. He often recounted in later years the many kindnesses he received while convalescing. Among his distinguished visitors were the future Cardinal Gibbons, Commander Moore, Mr. Alfred Pesant of New York, and numerous naval officials.

Accounts of his courageous efforts at Santiago were widely circulated by the United States press. New York especially, from where he had sailed to southern waters but a few months before, remembered his past visit and hailed him as a hero. In the city museum, in the gallery of wax representations of historical scenes, there was placed a lifesize tableau of Eulate kissing his sword in the act of handing it to Evans, while "Fighting Bob" graciously refuses it.

The years passed. Eulate became governor general of the Canary Islands. But never did he forget the friendship he began on the deck of the *Iowa*. Evans and he often exchanged letters, till the death of the former in 1912.

In 1924, I met Eulate and his daughter in Barcelona. He told me then of a letter he had received in 1923 from the son of Admiral Evans. It contained one of the highest praises ever given a man by a man. The young Evans quoted his father's words uttered soon after the surrender of Eulate at Santiago. "If ever you find yourself in such a strait, son, imitate the conduct of that Spanish captain, for he has changed defeat into a personal victory."

In her letter telling me of her father's death on February 20, 1932, his daughter recounted the happy and long-awaited meeting in 1925 of Admiral Evans's son and her own father, who was then in his eightieth year. I shall quote her own words.

One morning my father received a letter from the American consul. In it was a note from the commander of the cruiser *Pittsburgh*, which had just anchored in the harbor of Barcelona. Just imagine, it was from the son of Admiral Robley Evans inviting father to visit his ship. But father was convalescing at the time and so sent word asking Captain Frank Taylor Evans to honor our home with a visit. He came accompanied by one of his officers, and as he entered father received him with these words in English, "Friend, a prayer for your father." Captain Evans was much moved. They sat long recounting that memorable day at Santiago. Before their departure, father had me bring in an ebony cane with his own initials beautifully wrought in gold, which he gave to Captain Evans in remembrance of the sword his father had so magnanimously refused to accept.

In this brief account of the few occasions in which Eulate came into contact with people of the United States, his noble character and

his high esteem for Americans, though at one time Spain and the United States were enemies, stand revealed. Throughout his life he was a manly, sane, and deeply religious gentleman—in short he was in all ways “*el admirable almirante*”.

ALFRED F. MENDEZ, C. S. C.

Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Arthur Preston Whitaker, of Cornell University, spent some time at Seville making investigations in the Archivo de Indias. Mr. Lewis Hanke and two other Harvard men are also making investigations at the same archives. Mr. Hanke, who has been granted the Archibald Coolidge fellowship for 1933-1934, sends in a clipping from *El Sol* (Madrid), of April 22, 1933, on “The reorganization of the Archivo general de Indias”. This consists of a decree which was published in the *Gaceta* of the same day. In the preamble to the decree, it says among other things:

Spain wishes to contribute to the knowledge of its work, and in order that this end may be achieved, desires to make the Archivo de Indias a center of investigation, endowed with all the means that may be necessary for the attainment of the desired object. Spain desires to aid Hispanic peoples to learn the resources which it makes available, and for this end will place free of charge at the disposition of their governments photocopies of the documents which they may solicit.

The decree, which was proposed by the minister of public instruction and fine arts, is as follows:

Artículo 1.º El Archivo general de Indias intensificará en todo caso, y comenzará en algunos, la obra de catalogación, fichero y revisión de catálogos de:

a) Catálogos de las Secciones de Justicia, Escribanía de Cámara, Contaduría, previa revisión de los elaborados a fines del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX.

b) Catálogos modernos como las Secciones de Patronato, Estado, Papeles de Cádiz, etc.

c) Fichero de pasajero de Indias, con revisión de las papeletas actuales y previa formación de índices onomástico, geográfico y de oficios.

Art. 2.º El Archivo de Indias publicará:

a) Una serie cronológica íntegra, con sus correspondientes índices auxiliares, de cuanto se refiere a Cartografía americana, planos de ciudades, cuadernos de proyectos de arquitectura colonial.

b) Colecciones de documentos, ora inéditos, bien publicados, pero que por su importancia y falsa lectura paleográfica pueden dar lugar a una falsa interpretación del hecho histórico. Los documentos deben ser publicados según un criterio geográfico o político.

Art. 3.º El Archivo de Indias montará un Gabinete técnico para la obtención de las fotocopias que fueran solicitadas, las cuales serán servidas gratuitamente a los Gobiernos de los pueblos hispano-americanos que las pidan para sus archivos.

Art. 4.º Como elemento auxiliar y complementario se crea en el Archivo de Indias una Biblioteca especializada en asuntos de América, que se nutrirá con los siguientes fondos:

a) Con los de la Sección de Ultramar, que se hallan en la Biblioteca Nacional para lo cual, el Patronato de ésta adoptará las medidas oportunas.

b) Con las obras duplicadas que referentes a historia hispanoamericana o de Filipinas existan en las Bibliotecas públicas servidas por el Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, las cuales, en un plazo máximo de seis meses enviarán previa notificación al Patronato de la Biblioteca Nacional, a los efectos del Fichero Nacional, al Archivo de Indias.

c) Con las obras que sobre estas materias se encuentren en las bibliotecas procedentes de los colegios de la Compañía de Jesús; y

d) Con las que se adquirieran mediante la consignación que a este efecto se fije.

Art. 5.º El ministerio de Instrucción pública y Bellas Artes, de acuerdo con el Consejo de ministros, arbitrará los medios necesarios para la realización de los fines que se encomiendan por este decreto al Archivo general de Indias.

Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams of Goucher College is spending the summer vacation working on manuscript materials relating to her projected biography of Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. The Emperor's papers are in possession of his grandson, Prince Pedro d'Orleans-Bragança, at the Chateau d'Eu, France, which belonged to King Louis Philippe, the Prince's great-grandfather on his father's side. Professor Williams has secured permission to study these papers. After finishing her work at the Chateau, she will spend a short time in Portugal, whence she will sail for Brazil to complete some researches begun there in 1926. She has been voted a grant from the Social Science Research Council to help finance these research travels.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin is giving courses at the University of Mexico this summer.

Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., who is at present historiographer for the Mission Era in Texas and the Southwest, has been appointed lecturer in Hispanic American history at the Catholic University of America. Dr. Steck was granted his doctorate degree from the Catholic University, his thesis being a critical study of the Joliet and Marquette expedition entitled *The Joliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*. He has had an enviable career as a teacher. The

University is to be congratulated on having inaugurated distinct courses in Hispanic American history, and in having been able to obtain Dr. Steck to conduct them. In *Mid America* for July, 1932, Dr. Steck has an article entitled "Some neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition" (also in reprint form), in which the religious aspects of the expedition are set forth.

A Washington Branch of the Instituto de las Españas has been founded recently. As an announcement to the world of the new foundation, the Spanish ambassador to the United States, Sr. Cárdenas gave a reception at the Spanish embassy. A program was rendered by the Instituto, at which the Spanish ambassador gave the opening address. This was followed by an address by the president of the Executive Committee, Dr. Arthur Stanley Riggs, and the latter's address by one by the minister from Ecuador, Sr. Dr. Zalumbide. The secretary of the new organization is Rev. Dr. David Rubio.

Dr. Atwood, president of Clark University, who represented the United States as delegate at the Congress of the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, held in Rio de Janeiro in December of last year, was unanimously elected president of the executive committee by that body.

The *Annual Report of the Division of Historical Research—Section of United States History*, of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, which is reprinted from the Yearbook for 1931-1932, outlines the work being done in Hispanic American history by Mr. France V. Scholes, who has now gone to Spain to locate documents relative to the history of Yucatan. Assisting Mr. Scholes is Mr. Robert S. Chamberlain. It is reported also that Mr. Ralph L. Roys has undertaken a study of the *Crónica de Oxkutzcab* or Xiu Chronicle, "which is the book of *probanza*, or proofs of nobility of the Xiu family of Oxkutzcab" of Mayalans.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

The present list forms the fourth supplement to the compiler's *Hispanic American Bibliographies* published by the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in 1922. It has been prepared under the auspices of the Inter-American Bibliographical Association. Among the titles included are some of special interest and importance. Attention is called to some of these:

The Harvard Council on Hispano-American studies is continuing the publication of its valuable bibliographies of belles-lettres with *A tentative bibliography of Brazilian belles-lettres* by Dr. D. M. Ford, A. F. Whittem, and M. I. Raphael; *Hispano-American Literature in the United States* and *A tentative Bibliography of Peruvian Literature*, both by Dr. Sturgis Leavitt; and compilations on Porto Rican and Dominican literature, respectively, by Guillermo Rivera and Dr. Samuel M. Waxman. Pedreira's bibliography of Porto Rico is of special value; it is comprehensive and detailed. Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus's bibliographical review of Hispano-American histories is of distinct value as a guide for students of history.

Certain titles are included, of limited bibliographical content, because of their relation to matters of current interest, such as Dennis, *Tacna and Arica*, Kempfski, *Die Landwirtschaft in paraguayischen Chaco*, Krollman, *Die wichtigsten Probleme der mexikanischen Wirtschaft*, and Gehse, *Die deutsche Presse in Brasilien*.

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C. K. JONES.

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DESCRIPTIVE CALENDAR OF SOUTH AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

(Continuation)

CHAPTER X

1780-1789

(a) Don AUGUSTÍN DE JAUREGUI, Viceroy

- 1780, February 7. *No. 130.* Permit for celebrations entitled: "Nos El Doctor Don Gregorio Francisco de Campos, por la Gracia de Dios, y de la Santa Sede Apostólica Obispo de Ciudad, y Obispado de Nra Señora de la Paz, del Consejo de su Magestad &c". The license is for Don Mateo Ortiz de Ariñez who now appears with the new title of Licenciado. Signed by Don Juan Antonio de Zepeda.
(MB, Vol. 13, Ariñez (J. & M.), 1776-1826. Doc. 141, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1780, February 7. *No. 131.* Rare print of an ecclesiastical paper authorizing performance of church functions for one year. Inscribed and issued to the same man as the preceding license.
(MB, Vol. 13. *Ibid.* Doc. 142, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1780, May 10. *No. 132.* Record concerning the movable property of Captain Jacobo Peralta.²² Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1776-1777. With the emblems of Carlos III., and stating "Vn qvartillo para los años de 1779 Y 1780". Signed by Señor Don Mariano.
(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 28, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1780, July 11. *No. 132a.* Circular letter from the bishopric of La Paz with the following heading: "Nos el Dottor [*sic*] Don Phelipe Loayza de la Vega, Canonigo Dottoral de la Santa Iglecia Cathedral de esta Ciudad de nuestra Señora de la Paz, Provisor y Vicario General en ella, y su obispado por el Illustrissimo Señor Doctor Don Gregorio Fransisco de Campo mi Señor Dignissimo obispo de esta Diosessis del Consejo de su Magestad

²² This record is similar to that treated in Entry No. 128. Chap. IX.

&a'' and the letter begins: "A todos los fieles Christianos, vezinos, y moradores, estantes y avitantes en esta ciudad assi Hombres como Mugerres de qualesquier estado, calidad y condicion que a quienes lo contenido en esta Carta toca, y tañe, tocar y tañer puede en qualquier manera''. The sub-titles of this letter are as follows: *Petisn* by Doña Matilda Carbajal relative to an inheritance; *Decreto* by Dr. Loaysa; *Provision* by Augustin Catacora; *Primera carta canoniga*; *Segunda carta canoniga*; *Tercera carta canoniga*. It is signed Dr. Phelipe Loaiza de la Vega and Hipolito Guinterros notario mayor. (MB, Vol. 36. MBM, 1826-1871. Doc. 155, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.] P. 8 blank.

- 1780, September 18. *No. 132b*. Record of land titles, accompanied by various documentary material. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1776-1777''. With the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating: "Para los años de 1779 Y 1780''. Signed by Narcisso de Hernandes Bonifaz of Chuchulaya.

(MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 42, pp. 1-12.) [21 x 30 1/2 cm.]

- 1780, October 5. *No. 133*. Authorization papers of a wife to her husband made in the Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Chuchulaya by Pasquiel Condori, Alcalde Ordinario de Primer Voto. Page 6 mentions another paper dated 1749 which deals with the juridical rights of the proprietor above mentioned. Sealed: "Vn qvartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1782-1783''. With the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating "Para los años de 1784 y 1785''. Signed by Antonio de Loayra, notary public. (MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 46, pp. 1-18.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/5 cm.]

- 1780, October 17. *No. 134*. Statement by the director of tobacco revenue, Don Francisco de Paula Sans, Administrator general Ynterino, Factor, y Contador Proprietario de da Renta, to the effect that he received a salary of 700 pesos a year. Another statement concerning the position of Fernando Sans, Guerrero de Fiel de Almacenes y Tercenista de esta Adon, whose annual salary was 400 pesos. A further statement is made concerning Geronimo Moedano, Dic-itador de las Administracions Agregados á esta Ciudad, whose annual salary was 700 pesos.

(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Títulos] D. 309, pp. 1-10.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]

- 1780-(1803). *No. 135.* Record of the baptism of Manuel Demetrio Ensinas. Signed by José Valeriano Rodríguez, Curator of the Doctrina of San Andres de Machaca in the province of Pacajes.
(MB, Vol. 21. ACE, 1800-1870. Doc. 407, pp. 1-14.)
[21 x 31 cm.]
- 1780-(1824). *No. 136.* Administrative registry containing land titles, licenses, ordinances and other papers issued to the ministry and the subordinates of the General Administration of Tobacco Revenue in the bishopric of La Paz. Also contains distribution of stipends and instruments which were acquired to service the tobacco workshops since their establishment in 1780. The original reads: "Libro donde se toma Razon de los Titulos librados a los Ministros y dependientes de Esta Administracn Gral de la Rental del Tauaco del Obispado de la Paz. Con la assignazion de sus Sueldos y de los peltrechos y Abíos q̄ se han Subministrado para el Seruizio y Manejo de sus Ofizinas que corre desde su Establecimiento en el Año de 1780, y siguientes". This volume, in parchment binding, was originally numbered from 1 to 79 but by renumbering of the volume is according to document and not to page number. Pages 3-37 consists of an alphabetical index of eighteen letters of which, however, no use is made.
(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. Front cover title.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1780-1781, *circa.* *No. 136a.* Papers relating to Pedro Feliz Claveran Rendón (Contador oficial real de las Reales Cajas) and the property of Pedro Vizente Nieto. He was captain of the Infantry and had as his albacea the former Pedro Feliz Claveran Rendón. The papers are listed under the following subtitles: *Memorial* which consists of a formal statement by Señor Rendón; Testament of Captain Pedro Vizente; *Primera Memoria*; *Segunda Memoria*; *Tercera Memoria*.
Because of the names involved, these documents represent a very interesting group of historical records. Sealed: "SEGVNDO, SEIS REALES, AÑOS 1780-1781" and stamped with the emblems of Carlos III. Some pages are very light, thus making them almost illegible.
(MB, Vol. 36. MBM, 1826-1871. Doc. 1600, pp. 1-24.)
[21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]

- 1781, October 21. *No. 137.* Receipt of money recorded in the cash-book of Antonio Francisco Cueto.²⁸
(MB, Vol. 26. CBAFC, 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC.] Doc. 449, p. 44, mid.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1782, August 1. *No. 138.* A receipt of rent in the amount of 800 pesos.
(MB, Vol. 8. Hist., 1701-1808. Doc. 107, pp. 1-2.) [15 x 31 cm.]
- 1782, September 9. *No. 139.* Sale of merchandise.
(MB, Vol. 26. Cash BK., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC.] Doc. 449, p. 44.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1782, December 18. *No. 104.* Record of a loan.
(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* Doc. 449, p. 44, bot.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1782-(1783). *No. 141.* Two annulled records of "cargas".
(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* Doc. 449, p. 47, beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1782-(1796). *No. 142.* Extensions of the ecclesiastical permits and licenses despatched for Mateo Ortiz de Aríñez.
(MB, Vol. 8. Hist., 1701-1808. Doc. 143, pp. 1-6.) [20 x 31 cm.]
- 1783, [beg.] *No. 143.* Title page similar to that treated in Entry No. 66, Chapter IX, p. 87. It is in the same handwriting also, and states "Cronica de la ciudad de La Paz. Estadística de 1783. Colección de Nicolás Acosta". (Pp. 1-2 measure 10 1/2 x 15 cm.) The so-called chronicles in the form of statistics are described in the remaining eight pages.
Page 10: Heading: "... compras q̃ hisieron por encargo de los ses deputados Dn Ano y Dn Manl para la rrecepçion del Sr Govor Yntendte".
(MB, Vol. 8. Hist., 1701-1808. Doc. 120, pp. 1-10.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1783, July 2. *No. 144.* Sale of a hat.
(MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC.] Doc. 449, p. 44.) [20 x 30 cm.]

(b) Don TEODORO DE CROIX, Viceroy

- 1784, January 7. *No. 145.* An original letter in the correspondence between Francisco Ximenes, director general of taxation during the eighteenth century in the viceroyalty of Peru, and one of his colleagues. The heading of the document reads: "CORRE COPIADO ESTE INFORME A'

²⁸ This and the Entries Nos. 139-141 are related to those treated in Entry No. 109. See Ch. IX, p. 274.

F[OJA] 131 DEL LIBRO LO DE CORRESPONDENCIAS''. This letter is a reply to an invitation which the author received to express his opinions on the financial problems of the viceroyalty during the terms of Manuel de Guirior, 1767, and of Augustin de Jáuregui, 1784, when the country was under the supervision of the "Visitador General", Joseph de Arteche. Discusses royal and civil taxation, and also the financial conditions of Peru for two hundred years previous to the date of this letter. Contains abundant criticism of monarchical statesmanship throughout South America and of the colonial governments and their administrators in relation to the agricultural production, the industry, commerce, and political situation of the inhabitants and of the Indians in particular. The author brings up various laws and cédulas reales of different dates to substantiate his criticism and to show the harm done in giving too great privileges to the Indians. The freedom of the Catholic Church in being allowed to commercialize ritual objects without taxation is also satirically censured. As a document, it is picturesque in all its aspects and is an important source for political, economic, and financial history because it reports the whole situation as it was seen by a contemporary expert on these subjects. Of special significance because the date of the writing and the discussion were during a period of political transition: the reorganization of the viceroyalty of La Plata; the supervisorship of Joseph Augustín for obtaining security for the Spanish dominion which coincided with a general sedition of the Indians; and finally the revolution of Tupac Amaru. There is more information in this document on the aforementioned revolutionary movement than is usually given in the published histories of Peru on this particular subject.

(MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 114, pp. 1-36. [31 3/10 x 31 3/10 cm.]

- 1784, March 4. No. 146. Loose sheet of paper containing an account headed: "Cuenta con cargo y Data con Don Jph Baragan", signed by Antonio Fernandez Cueto.

(MB, Vol. 12. Misc. Docs., 1772-1826. Doc. 505, pp. 1-2. [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

- 1784, March 5. No. 147. Letter of petition to the Intendente of the Hacienda Real by Francisco Saravia, veteran soldier of the battalion of the Presidio de San Juan de Ulua of Vera Cruz.

- (MB, Vol. 15. Manual, 1799. [Orig. tit. LM.] Doc. 335, pp. 1-2.) [14 1/2 x 21 cm.]
- 1785, April 22. *No. 148.* Several acts on financial credits of a monastery of La Paz. Heading: "Auto sobre la demanda q̄ puso el 24, Dn Toribio Castro de 4000 p[sos] qe pr clausula le devo D Diego Alarcon, y Contreras. 129'". Signed by Mother Superior Juana Manuela de San Alberto, by the notary public, Augustin Catacora, by the lawyer of La Paz, Felipe de Loaiza de la Vega, and by others. It is related to the document treated in Entry No. 53, Chapter VII, p. 134.
(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 11, pp. 1-12.) [21 1/5 x 30 4/5 cm.]
- 1785, May 23. *No. 149.* An order of the ecclesiastical administration in La Paz to the civil government to acquire legal papers of land purchased by the presbyters, Mateo and Cayetono Ortiz de Aríñez. Sealed: "Doce reales. SELLO SEGVNDO . . . 1798-1799". With the emblems of Carlos IV. and indicating: "Años de 1804 y 1805".
Page 2: Here begins a legal transcription of the above mentioned papers.
Accompanied by a despatch from Alcalde Jorge Babilivian, but signed by his secretary, Mariano del Prado, judge of the city of La Paz.
(MB, Vol. 20. MBD, 1800-1829. Doc. 212, pp. 1-18.) [21 1/5 x 31 1/2 cm.]
- 1785, October 7. *No. 150.* Contest by Don Yosef Manuel de Murio, Cacique Gobernador of the Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Chuchulaya and by Licenciado Don Juan de Dios Espinosa los Monteros for inherited land. It consists of three acts: *Escritura*, *Boleta*, and *Aceptación*. Sealed: "Un real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1760 y 1761" and indicating "Para los años de 1777 y 1778, 1785", Stamped with the emblems of Fernando VI. Signed by Manuel Francisco Rodríguez, scrivener to his Majesty.
(MB, Vol. 21. ACE, 1800-1870. Doc. 342, pp. 1-8.) [19 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1785-(1788). *No. 151.* Collection of documentary material concerning state property, originally numbered from 1 to 60 sheets, and then from 1 to 84 sheets, but renumbered (by me) as 1 to 196 pages.
Page 1: "Libramto de dn Martn Garcia Lanza, a favor del R P Fr Lucas Perez". It is a warrant for the

above mentioned people, despatched by Archdeacon Bernardino Vria Illanes, and others.

Page 4: Legal discussion which extends to page 112. The contents of this section are a number of legal instruments, declarations, notifications, proceedings, nominations, promotions, certifications, authorizations, investigations, acknowledgments, exchanges, decrees, and executions, contained in 109 documents. In these documents are involved a number of outstanding individuals, ecclesiastical societies, and Indians. Signed by Manuel Sánchez, notary public.

Page 113: Sealed: "DOS REALES [un real]. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1797". With the emblems of Carlos IV. and indicating: "1800-1801". Legal deposition at court.

Page 115: A petition in defense of the accused presbyter, Licenciado Gavino García Lanza, accompanied by depositions from witnesses.

Page 119: Another section of despatches dealing with the above case.

Page 133: A transcription of an important letter relating to the case.

Page 138: An original letter from Francisco Mantilla to the persecuted presbyter, Licenciado Gavino García Lanza, discussing the trial.

Page 142: Another letter from Thomas Pinto to the brother of the presbyter, discussing the character of his antagonist, Fray Lucas Pérez.

Page 144: A grievance from Doctor Bernardino Mendes, attorney for the real audiencia, and commissioner of the santo oficio of the inquisition.

Pages 150-174: A series of petitions dealing with the defense of the presbyter, directed to several civil and military authorities.

Page 175: Protocols and legal acts in connection with the property involved in the case, one of which is signed by Mateo Ortiz de Añíes.

Page 193: A legal instrument, connected with the same case, regarding immovable property.

The collection considered, besides the legal subjects with which it deals, is of interest for the light it throws on the relations between the priests and officers of the Church.

(MB, Vol. 20. MBD, 1800-1829. Doc. 183, pp. 1-196.)
[21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

- 1786, February 20. No. 152. Paper by Francisco de Paula Sans, Caballero de la R^l y distinguida Orden de Carlos 3^o del Consejo de S. M. Yntendente de Exercito: Gobernador Yntendente de la Provincia de Buenas Ayres: Superintendente general subdelegado de R^l Hacienda y Reales Rentas de Tabaco y Naypes . . . del rio de la Plata. Issued to the ministry, directors, and administrators nominating Toribio Cano Portal as *Oficial Escrivente de las Reales Rentas* of tobacco and playing cards in La Paz. The rights and duties of this office are outlined in the same paper. (MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] (Doc. 310, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1786, June 20. No. 153. Copy of a writ by Administrador General Francisco de Paula Sans of La Paz promoting Tomás de Orrantia to the office of *Contaduría General* upon the deposit of 6,000 pesos as security, in compensation for which he is to receive an annual salary of 1,600 pesos. (MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg. *Ibid.* Doc. 310, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1786, June 22. No. 154. Paper issued by Francisco de Paula Sans to his subordinates of the viceroyalty of La Plata nominating Joseph Santa Cruz de Villavicencio as *Administrador Particular de las expresadas Rentas* in the Missions of Apolobamba, and outlining his rights and duties. (MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 311, p. 1. [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1786, August 29. No. 155. Legal instrument pertaining to the estate of Paco de Mantilla of Chulumani. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO, SEIS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS OCHENTA Y OCHO, Y OCHENTA Y NVEVE". With the emblems of Carlos III. Signed by the notary public, Don Hipolito Guiterres. (MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 41, pp. 1-8.) [20 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1787, circa. No. 156. Historical record of ecclesiastical activities, reading "Razon, ó memoria de las Curas, y sus Tenientes, qe han servido el Beneficio de S^a Frco de Combaya, y su Viceparroquia de N^a S^a de Chuchulaya, desde el año de 1681". There is also given a list of the curas who served during the period from 1600-1787. (MB, Vol. 19. RT, 1800. Doc. 165, pp. 1-6.) [7 7/10 x 21 cm.]
- 1787, January 6. No. 157. Sworn oath by Manuel Vicioso for the position of district supervisor of tobacco and playing card revenue with an annual salary of 300 pesos. Signed by Cano.

- (MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] Doc. 312, p. 1, f. h.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1787, February 27. *No. 158.* Paper nominating Francisco Llero to the office of tax collector in the Villa of Potosí.
(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 314, pp. 1 (p. 3 s. h.)-2 f. h.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1787, March 2. *No. 159.* Will of Doña Antonia de Leyba of La Paz. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO . . . 1782-1783". With the emblems of Carlos III, and indicating "Para los años de 1786 i 1787". Signed by Crispín de Vera y Aragón, and confirmed as a true testimonial.
(MB, Vol. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 51, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1787, March 13. *No. 160.* Paper of nomination emitted by Toribio Cano appointing Pedro Velasco as *Guarda Supernumerario* in the Partido de Chulumani, and setting forth the rights and duties of this office.
(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] Doc. 13, p. 1 s. h.—p. 3 f. h.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1787, March 16. *No. 161.* Paper concerning the revenue and the regulations of the cigarette industry in various locations. It nominates Enriquez as *Fiel de Tercenas y Almacenas*, and points out the rights and duties of his office.
(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 315, p. 1 (p. 2 s. h.)-p. 3 f. h.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1787, March 16. *No. 162.* Act of Toribio Cano appointing Pedro de Eguren as *Veedor de Fabrica de Cigarros de papel*. Followed by the appointment of Pedro Velasco of the pueblo of Achocalla and of Juan Rodríguez to the positions of *Guarda Supernumerario* and *Fiscal de Rentas* respectively.
(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 316, pp. 1 (p. 3 s. h.) to 3 f. h.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1787, March 16. *No. 163.* Statement by Pedro de Inicio and Don Ramon Alvarez Nava of Buenos Aires in the name of Marqués de Sonora, testifying to the latter's sanction of the appointment of Martín Bermúdez.
(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 321, p. 1.) [21 x 30 cm.]
- 1787, April 2. *No. 164.* Confirmation of previous act by Sebastián de Seguro, Caballero del Orden de Calabraba, Coronel de Ynfanteria, y Comandante Militar, y Gobernador Yntendente de esta dha Provincia por S. M.' as to the appointment of Tomás de Orrantia, in place of Joseph Francisco de Losada y Prada. This office is also con-

cerned with the collection of the taxes on tobacco and playing cards. The rights and duties of the office are outlined herein.

(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 317, p. 1 (end. p. 3, D. 316)-beg. p. 4.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1787, April 24.

No. 165. Papers of appointments by Tomás de Orrantía giving Francisco Villalva the office of *Guarda Superior*; Manuel Antonio Rodríguez, the office of *Escribano de Su Magestad* (April 30); Nicolás Pérez Loazza, the office of *Guarda Mayor Supernumerario* (July 18); Manuel Rodríguez, the office of *Escribano de las Rentas de Tabaco y Naypes* (October 1); Juan Vicente Guerrero, the office of *Teniente Visitador* (November 23); Ysidro Salar, the office of *Oficial Escriviente de la Contaduría*.

(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 318, p. 1 (mid. p. 4, D. 317)-p. 6.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1787, July 16.

No. 166. Statement in the name of Marqués de Sonora confirming the appointments to the various offices for the collection of taxes on tobacco and playing cards. It is accompanied by a decree sanctioning them.

(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 320, p. 1 (p. 2 s. h.)-p. 3.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1788, circa.

No. 167. Petition to the vicar general of La Paz by Thomas Alecoser, a persecuted Indian inhabitant. The document is quite blurred. Accompanied by despatches of lawyers and judges.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 52, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1788, January 3.

No. 168. Nomination by Tomás de Orrantía of Ventura de Ochoa for the position of *Guarda Mayor* of the pueblos de Chupi and Tamacache. Another appointment as *Estanguero Fiel* is given to the same man.

(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] Doc. 319, p. 1 (mid. p. 6, D. 318)-p. 2 f. h.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1788, January 25.

No. 169. Appointment by Tomás de Orrantía of Pedro de Azavedo to the office of *Dependiente* in the pueblo of Machacacha, partido of Omasuyos.

(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 322, p. 1.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1788, January 25.

No. 170. Don Francisco Porchec is given charge of the office of *Fiel de Tercenas*.

(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 323, p. 1.) [21 x 30 cm.]

1788, March 23.

No. 171. Nomination of Pedro Azavedo as *Dependiente del Resguardo* of La Paz.

(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 326, p. 1 (p. 5 s. h.)-p. 2.)
[20 1/2 x 30 cm.]

1788, April 2.

No. 172. Legal writ of 27 paragraphs emitted by Francisco Paula Sans. The preface deals with the nomination of Domingo Tarifa to the position of *Teniente de Esguardo* of the General Administration of tax collections from tobacco, playing cards, and official stationery. The paragraphs numbered from 1 to 6 and from 1 to 21 deal with important regulations of the general administration, namely:

(1) Ministers of his cabinet and their subordinates, including the permanent conductors of the tobacco industry, with fixed salaries or stipulated rewards, shall not have other positions or participate in other consultative matters; by no means and under no circumstances shall they own lodging houses and baggage rooms; and they shall not take part in *Curadurias, y hermandad de Obras pias; de Milicias, Hospidajes y Guias*. They shall not be connected with the office for collection of *Bulas, Alcabalas, Puentes*, and not with other tax collection offices, except with the *Rental Real de Tabacos, Naypes, y Papel Sellado*. In compensation for occupying a position in this administration, they shall not be taken to war nor to other governmental service. They shall be exempt from traveling expenses on land and on water, from bridge tolls, etc. Under no circumstances can they be prosecuted or punished. Whoever violates these regulations will be fined not less than and not more than 200 pesos.

(2) The said officers and members of their families (not having any industrial or commercial occupation and not owning estates) shall not be required to pay taxes except that of *alcabalas* or *tributo real*.

(3) Said officers can carry and use certain arms only under the conditions and circumstances which are indicated in this regulation.

(4) All employees of the administration of the *real renta* are entitled to be preferred by proprietors of buildings and houses in case the former want a place for themselves, their families, or their belongings, but it is understood that said employees must pay the regular rent and can be made responsible for any damages which they have caused and for an abuse of privileges.

(5) When they are in small villages, the *Dependientes* of the *real renta* can be housed with all their belongings

in private homes. Householders in small villages shall provide the said employees with a rest room, a room for office work, and a room even for keeping a prisoner in case of necessity; and if any employee has a family or if a criminal is taken to prison with his family, the accommodation must be adjusted accordingly; and for all of this the *real renta* is under obligation to pay the regular price demanded in the village.

(6) The employees and officers of the *real renta* can ask for assistance "*favor al Rey*" and those who do not respond or who abuse this privilege can be brought to trial therefor.

A statement follows asserting that the six paragraphs cited are ordered by the monarch himself and they must be sent out to all departments of the general tax administration of the viceroyalty. In the meantime, twenty-one more paragraphs were formulated:

(1) Ministers of the general administration must be well instructed in everything concerning the country in which they work and particularly in the nature and in the commercial conditions of the tobacco industry. It is required that said ministers must be vigilant over the location where tobacco and cement are handled. Cases of contraband must be investigated secretly so that the public may not be aware of them until the allegations are proved.

(2) Officials must be very careful about searching the homes of distinguished citizens, business men, shops, and grocery stores, but in homes of ordinary and common people they can visit and search as frequently as they deem it necessary.

(3) Under no circumstances may private coaches be searched when they are on the *caminos reales* "because the coaches have previously been searched before leaving to travel on the *camino real*; and if there is still any suspicion, the search must be made with the greatest diplomacy, first asking the driver for permission to search, and if after the search, a small amount of tobacco or other contraband articles are found, no steps should be taken against them because the goods might have been required for the journey.

(4) The searching of freight masters and wagon drivers of all kinds must be made with the same precautions as set forth in the previous article, so that the said drivers may not be embarrassed. Whoever acts contrary

to this regulation will be dismissed from his post, and if his violation was very great, he will be brought before a court of arbitration.

(5) If a *Guarda* disrespects his superiors or becomes intoxicated, he shall be reprimanded only twice; the third time he must be dismissed and reported to the general director of the administration for further punishment.

(6) In case any person arrested resists, the use of arms by an official must be limited to defense only.

(7) Among road travelers and tramps the *guarda* must be careful to search for fraud: contraband, arms, and other belongings found on these people must be confiscated and reported to the director for further investigation.

(8) While proceedings are being instituted against a road traveler or tramp, an inventory must be taken of any confiscated property, and if there is money it must be deposited in the legal department of the *hacienda real*.

(9) The *Cabo de la Ronda* is authorized to check up the bookkeeping of business concerns or to lay an embargo upon goods; but before a procedure of this sort is practiced the official must be careful not to have rumors about it circulated through the pueblos. A detected business man can remain as a prisoner in his own house under the vigilance of an official.

(10) The officials of the *renta real* must visit farms and if tobacco plantations are found they must be investigated in order to find the amount of revenue they produce. If the proprietor or lessee of the land appears suspicious, if he and his accomplices are sent to prison, because of guilt, the whole plantation is destroyed and other punishments outlined in other articles are to be administered.

(11) *Administradores, visitadores, guarda mayores* and *ministros de la renta* shall not proceed with a case by themselves. Any one violating this regulation shall be dismissed or taken to a court of arbitration.

(12) When it is necessary to search a convent, the official must not enter without first being certain of the exact location of the contraband goods. This procedure must be carried out in a dignified manner and if their suspicion is confirmed, the official must first ask the prelate for the goods which were found but if the prelate

refuses to relinquish the goods to the government, the official can take possession of them without the consent of the convent, however, doing so in a dignified manner.

(13) It is required that officers, soldiers, and sailors shall be ready at all times and in all places to help the employees of the *real renta* in locating contraband. Their vigilance is required particularly among land and sea troops.

(14) In order to search military headquarters or military camps, a permit must be obtained from a governor or commander of the troop of the military post.

(15) If a *guarda* disobeys a *visitador*, *teniente*, or *cabo de ronda* he can be chastised, put in prison, or dismissed from his position by these superiors. But if one of these officials abuse his privileges, he shall be punished.

(16) When two or more *cabos de ronda* are together on a mission, one of them shall be appointed head, in order to supervise the *guardas* and direct the rest of the *cabos*. If there are only two *cabos* of equal rank, they shall themselves decide which one is best fitted to act as head.

(17) The *visitadores* and the heads of the *cabos de ronda* must be civil to the *guardas* but are not to be on intimate terms with them.

(18) The *guardas* can not be used for any other tasks other than those in the service of the *real renta*.

(19) If the *guardas* have to be quartered in any particular district or pueblo, they must not disturb any of the inhabitants of the pueblos.

(20) In *posadas*, the *guardas* shall be housed together in one dwelling. In *poblaciones*, the *guardas* who reside there permanently shall have a certain schedule of hours for the receiving and execution of orders. In the capitol the *visitadores* and the *guardas mayores* must report to the office of the general director every night in order to receive instructions.

(21) It was ordered by royal decrees that the employees in the service of the *real renta* shall be careful to detect frauds and to confiscate not only contraband goods but arms as well.

These requirements are accompanied by statements supplementing the twenty-one regulations in the outline. (MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 324, p. 1-p. 13 f. h.) [20 4/5 x 30 cm.] Page 1 is torn in the lower corner.

- 1788, April 2. *No. 173.* Paper by Francisco de Paula Sans, nominating Ysidro Galas *dependiente de resguardo* with an annual salary of 300 pesos. The paper gives special attention to the rights and duties of this office because of the manner in which Domingo Tarifa, who last held the position, abused it.
(MB, Vol. 14. *Ibid.* Doc. 325, p. 1 (p. 13 s. h.)-p. 5 f. h.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1788, April 30. *No. 174.* Unofficial testament with details on distribution of property by Andres Fernández. This document is also blurred. Signed by Rafael Begredal, Miguel Alvarez, and Manuel de Miranda.
(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 53, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 30 1/2 cm.]
- 1788, May 1. *No. 175.* Court papers containing decisions on the lawsuit concerned with the properties of Jacobo Peralta in Paco. This is a compilation of instruments, warrants, petitions, notifications, extracts from wills, decrees, and executions. Made by the court secretary, Pedro de Mariaca, in the name of the Alcalde Sebastián de Via. Sealed: "Un real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1788-1789". Stamped with the emblems of Carlos III.
(MB, Vol. 20. MBD, 1800-1829. Doc. 227, pp. 1-46.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1788, September 14. *No. 176.* Paper by Tomas de Orrantia appointing Andres Martínez *guarda honoraria* in the province of La Paz.
(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] Doc. 327, p. 1.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1788, October 27. *No. 177.* Two cancelled registries in the cashbook of Antonio Francisco Cueto. A third one deals with income from Francisco Escobar and Doña Getrudes.
(MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC.] Doc. 449, p. 41 bot.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1789, January 1. *No. 178.* Copy of a royal ordinance, dated in Aranjuez, to the viceroys of Buenos Aires and Peru. This is an answer to a communication of October 15, 1784, asking the withdrawal and cancellation of the *moneda macuquina* in both viceroalties. The *junta de comercio y moneda* in a meeting of February 21, 1784, advocated this withdrawal because the experiment with this type of money was a failure. The reply of January 1, 1789, accepts the recommendation of the viceroys and outlines the precautions to be taken in case of a change in currency, namely: (a) Brief orders must be issued for the

removal of the *moneda macuquina* to the *casas de moneda*, at the same time in order to prevent any attempts at arbitration or circulation of a new currency. (b) In case of a general withdrawal of this currency in all Spanish dominions, the loss must be reported to the government. (c) Merchandise from custom-houses must be removed to the *casas de moneda* and to the *cajas reales*; and the owners of said merchandise are to pay an equivalent in silver equal to twice the value of the merchandise. (d) The same rule must be adopted with respect to the tobacco industry and the *macuquina* of the *rentas de correos*. (e) If the silver equivalent is not paid in metal but in merchandise, the latter should be sent to Spain to be converted into its proper equivalent in silver. (f) The Administration must take care that the withdrawal of the *moneda macuquina* be accomplished within two years after the publication of this ordinance which is being sent to all Spanish Dominions. (g) At the expiration of this period, the *moneda macuquina* will not be considered to have any monetary value. (h) If the *moneda macuquina* has not been brought to the *caja real* for redemption by the third year after the publication of the ordinance, its possessors can no longer claim the legality of its weight or value. The letter gives also an outline of the technical procedure the viceroys and the administration must use in the cancellation of *moneda macuquina*. This ordinance is confirmed by the marqués de Loreto, the tribunal de cuentas, the contaduría general de ejército y real hacienda, and other high administrative entities.

(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] Doc. 330, pp. 1-5.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]

1789, January 5.

No. 179. Official letter by Bishop Gregorio Francisco of La Paz, giving information on the two brothers, the Presbyters Cayetano Ortiz de Aríñez and Mateo Ortiz de Aríñez of the diocese of La Paz.

(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 54, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1789, February 3.

No. 180. Loose sheets from an account headed: "Cuento que tengo y tube con Dn Thadeo Blaseo en el año de 779". Signed by Antonio Fernández de Cueto. (MB, Vol. 12. Misc. Docs., 1772-1826. Doc. 506, pp. 1-2.) [21 3/10 x 31 cm.]

1789, March 22.

No. 181. Printed license from the episcopate of La Paz to the presbyter mentioned in Entry No. 179, au-

thorizing him to perform the Holy Sacrament and to hear confessions.

(MB, Vol. 13. Aríñez (J. & M.), 1776-1829. Doc. 133, pp 1-2.) [21 x 31 cm.]

1789, May 11.

No. 182. Registration of an act nominating Don Leandro Fernández *fiel estanquero* in the Pueblo de Ayuta in the partido of Sorata.

(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Orig. tit. Titulos.] Doc. 329, p. 1 (bot. p. 1, D. 328.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]

1789, May 26.

No. 183. Statement of the baptism of Juan de Dios Antonio, son of Felipe Muñoz. (MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC.] Doc. 449, p. 47, bot.) [20 x 30 cm.]

1789, September 16.

No. 183. Letters and receipts from Captain Jacobo Peralta and his relatives. Pages 9 and 10 show the relation of Father Mateo Ortiz de Arínex to the affairs of Captain Peralta. Signed by the abovementioned presbyter and by the captain and others in Coroyco.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 55, pp. 1-12.) [Pp. 1-4-15 x 21 1/2 cm; pp. 7-12-21 x 31 cm.]

1789, November 27.

No. 184. Nomination of Don José Manuel Lopez as *guarda supernumerario* and as *fiel estanquero* in the pueblo of Corpiata which was under the administration of Coroyco.

(MB, Vol. 14. Admin. Reg., 1780-1824. [Titulos.] Doc. 328, p. 1.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]

JAC NACHBIN.

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(To be continued)

NOTES

The *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, the organ of the Academia Colombiana de Historia, is published monthly at Bogotá under the direction of Enrique Otero D'Costa and the editorship of José Joaquín Guerra and R. Botero Saldarriaga. Much of the material published is, as might be expected, local in character, but a considerable part is of wider interest. In various issues appear, among other items, the following: February (1932)—“Discurso de Orden”, by Antonio Gómez Restrepo; “Informe de la Comisión de la Academia de la Historia que fue a Popayan”, by A. J. Lemus Guzmán; “Los primeros Poetas de la Conquista”, by Gustavo Otero Muñoz. March (1932)—“Mariquita”, by F. Mora Diaz, O. P.; “Apuntaciones y Documentos para la Historia de Pamplona”, by Matos Hurtado; “Una Carta de Perou de Lacroix”; “El Proceso d'Evereux”. April (1932)—“Homenaje . . . al Doctor Eduardo Posada”, by Daniel Arias Argáez; A “Discurso”, in reply, by Dr. Posada; “Las Tapias de Pilatos, lugar donde enterraban los Suicidas en el Siglo pasado”, by Enrique Otero D'Costa; “La Agonia del Liberador”, a letter by Col. Belford H. Wilson”. May—“La Política de General Santander”, by L. García Ortiz; “El Fundador de Bogotá”; “Meritos del Proceso de la Independencia”, by Bernardo J. Caycedo; “Servicio del Prócer Félix Suárez”, by José María Restrepo Sáenz and José Manuel Marroquín; “Cambio de Nombre al Municipio de Restrepo”, by Enrique Otero D'Costa; “Don Francisco José Merlo de la Fuente”, by José María Restrepo Sáenz; “La Tumba de Zea”, by Nicolás García Samudio; “Historia del Colegio Público de Cartago en 1839”. June—“El Bicentenario del sabio Mutis”; “Informe sobre la Filiación de la Vida de Bolívar”, by Arturo Quijano and Daniel Arias Argáez; “Sobre Adquisición de unos Mapas antiguos”, by Raimundo Rivas, José Manuel Marroquín, and Gerardo Arrubla. July—“Idea de nuestra Transformación política”, by José Martínez Recamán; “El Arzobispo Caicedo”, by Arturo Quijano; “El 20 de Julio relatado por un Oidor actuante”, by José María Restrepo Sáenz; “Los Mártires de 1816”, by Enrique Otero D'Costa; “Proceso del Martir Pedro Guzmán”, by José Dolores Monsalve; “Informe sobre el Prócer

y Mártir Francisco Antonio Caicedo'', by Enrique Otero D'Costa; ''El 20 de Julio'', by Próspero Pereira Gamba; ''El Arzobispo Caicedo''. In several issues is a continuation of the ''Diario de Quijano Otero''.

In recent issues, the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Caracas), publishes the following: December 31, 1931—''Catálogo de las Obras de Derecho en la Sección Argentina de la Biblioteca Nacional''; ''Una nueva Clasificación bibliográfica para Bibliotecas y Librerías''. March 31, 1932—''English Figures in South American History''; ''A curious Spanish-American Imprint'', by C. K. Jones; ''Materia médica en la Sección Argentina de la Biblioteca Nacional''. June 30, 1932—''El Centenario de un Libro y la Union Panamericana'', by Jose E. Machado; ''Del Manuscrito 'Arca de Letras y Theatro universal' ''; ''Bibliografía del Dr. Alfred Jahn''. September 30, 1932—''Bibliografía Nacional 'Vestigios de la Atlantida' ''; ''Centenario del Doctor Ernst'', by José E. Machado; ''Historia de la Plaza Bolívar de Caracas'', by Aristides Rojas; ''Obras de Jurisprudencia en la Sección del Uruguay en la Biblioteca Nacional. December 31, 1932—''Las Plantas religiosas del Hogar pobre'', by Aristides Rojas; ''El Origen del Nombre de América, by R. de Bury; ''Bolívar y el Historiador Mugártegui'', by Juan J. de Mugártegui. In most of these numbers cited, the ''Diario de Bucaramanga'' is continued.

El Libro y el Pueblo (Mexico) has, among other items, the following in various issues: July, 1932—''El Teatro de Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz'', by Rodolfo Usigli; ''Dos Novelistas Maxicanos'', by Concha Meléndez; ''Notas sobre Alfonso Reyes'', by Francisco Monterde; ''El Pulso de la Época, by Antonio Acevedo Escobedo; ''Historia de la Musica'', by Salamón Kahan. August, 1932—''Juan Montalvo'', by Gonzalo Zaldumbide; ''Clásicos de América'', by Pedro Henríquez Ureña. September, 1932—''Clásicos de América'', by *id.*, ''Mina en Biografía'', by Antonio Acevedo Escobedo; ''Libros Mexicanos en la Tulane'', by Rafael Heliodoro Valle; ''Cuatro Siglos de Teatro'', by Antonio Acevedo Escobedo. November, 1932—''Notas sobre Bernal Diaz del Castillo'', by Luis Cardoza y Aragón; ''El Sabio Belmar y su Bibliografía'', by José G. Montes de Oca; ''El Sentido mágico y religioso del arte indígena'', by Eulalia Guzmán; ''Bibliografía de Martí en Mexico'', by Rafael Heliodoro Valle; ''Mexico y Keyserling'', by

Antonio Acevedo Escobedo; "Mexico económico", by Enrique Sarra. January, 1933—"Elogio del Idioma", by Alejandro Quijano; "Panorama de Letras Mexicanas", by Antonio Acevedo Escobedo; "Bibliografía Mexicana en 1932", by Rafael Heliodoro Valle. February, 1933—"Gabriela Mistral", by Eduardo Colin; "Estudio de Rusia", by Jesus Silva Herzog; "Investigaciones de Spinden", by Rafael Heliodoro Valle.

Together with the above periodical is distributed *Volantes de El Libro y El Pueblo*. In those issues seen appear the following: September, 1932—"Pequeñas Biografías—Cristóbal Colón". October, 1932—"El Escuela y la Biblioteca", by Ernesto Nelson; *Pequeñas Biografías—Francisco J. Madero*"; "Algunos Libros sobre la Revolución".

The *American Historical Review* for October, 1932, publishes an interesting and informing article by Dr. Lota M. Spell, namely, "The Anglo-Saxon Press in Mexico, 1846-1848".

Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton's presidential address which was delivered at the Toronto meeting of the American Historical Association was published in the *American Historical Review* for April. Its subject is "The Epic of Greater America" and in it Dr. Bolton discusses in considerable detail the larger aspects of "American" history, speaking in terms of continents and not alone of the United States—a subject to which he has given much thought. He has well established his thesis.

The Pan American Union published on March, 1933, in mimeographed form, its "Bibliographical Series", No. 4, namely "Selected List of Recent Books (in English) on Latin America". This list (the third edition, revised and enlarged) was compiled in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Union. In a Note preceding the List, the Librarian, Mr. Charles E. Babcock, says:

This selected bibliography is compiled to indicate the material now available to schools, women's clubs, travelers, and students, who desire to read more extensively on Latin American topics than may be done by means of the publications of the Pan American Union.

Mr. Babcock explains also that many valuable and highly interesting books were omitted because they are no longer in print, but may be consulted in the larger libraries or obtained from dealers in second-hand books. It is revised to 1932.

Dr. William A. Read, professor of the English language and literature in the Louisiana State University has compiled No. 5 of "University Studies" published by the University (Baton Rouge, 1931), a valuable study entitled *Louisiana-French*. In his introduction, he states that both the Louisiana Creoles and the Acadians have "borrowed from the same foreign sources—English, German, Spanish, African, and Indian". The second part consists of the native or French element; the third of the foreign element (Indian, English, African, Spanish, and Italian); the fourth part of geographical names (Indian place-names, French place-names, Spanish place-names, and the Ouachita region in 1797); the fifth part, "Surnames from Southern France"; and the sixth part, the conclusion. There is an excellent bibliography.

J. Lloyd Mechem, of the University of Texas, has an article in *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* for March, 1933, entitled "The Jefe Político in Mexico". This has also been issued in reprint form. It is an excellent study.

Many of those who have read Julian Duguid's *Green Hell* (New York, The Century Co., 1931, pp. xii, 339, \$4.00) undoubtedly know more of certain phases of the South American continent than before reading it. Those who have read it during late months or who will read it in the near future, have or will think of it in connection with the near war waging between Paraguay and Bolivia. The sub-title of the volume is "Adventures in the mysterious Jungles of Eastern Bolivia". An introduction by Merry del Val, late Spanish ambassador to England, praises the book as an excellent and vivid description but takes exception to the account of the reason given for the death of the Inca Atahualpa, which he claims is that given by Spain's detractors. The volume is an excellent description of the all-pervading forest of the Chaco, that mysterious land which was crossed by the heroic expedition of Nuflo de Chavez in 1557. It is a narrative of a modern expedition made by a Bolivian, an Englishman, an Irishman,

and a Latvian (who joined the other three in South America). The book has value. As a panorama of the forest of South America it is unsurpassed.

As pleasantly told is the same author's *Tiger Man* (New York, The Century Co., 1932, pp. xiii, 287, \$3.00). "Tiger Man" is, of course, the one who joined the expedition of Duguid and his companions as related in *Green Hell*. He had so impressed himself on the author that the latter asked to be permitted to write the story of his life. This he has done with a generous pen, showing Sacha Siemels (the Tiger Man) as a boy in Latvia where he refused to be bound by convention, his life in the United States and Buenos Aires (where he became a skilled mechanic), his love of reading, and finally, his life in the Brazilian jungle (where he justly earned his sobriquet). It is the story of an ardent, independent, and generous soul, and of one who, refusing to sink to the level of his surroundings, mastered himself and met life with a calm philosophy. However, though the same appreciation of nature is shown and conditions showing the human factor in jungle folk are well portrayed, the volume will be ranked second to *Green Hell*, to which, after all, it is an appendix. The volume abounds in tense moments but will be useful to the historical student only in so far as it helps him to understand conditions off the beaten track and to see something of the diverse human factors that make up the South America of today. The book is not overloaded with minutiae and the tale moves rapidly. Though some may doubt it, "Tiger Man" appears to be a real person and not a figment of the imagination. The book is one of the newer type of biographical writing. It abounds in nice comment on the forces of nature.

Volume VI. of Edmund C. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* has just been distributed. This volume advances the history from March 1, 1781 to December 11, 1782. Several of the letters contain comment unfavorable to the terms of capitulation granted to the British by Bernardo de Gálvez after the British surrender at Pensacola. A letter from John Rutledge to Nathaniel Greene refers to the possibility of American operations in East Florida. A number of the letters relate in part to negotiations with Spain or to Spanish-American matters. The volume is edited with the meticulous care of its predecessors.

COMMUNICATIONS

Legación
de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela
Washington, D. C.

March 6, 1933.

The Editor, THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

In the February, 1933, number of your valued publication I have read a study signed by Mary Watters, entitled, "The Present Status of the Church in Venezuela".

Passing over various affirmations or opinions of the author with which I do not agree, I wish only to call to your attention and, through you, to the attention of the Board of Editors of the REVIEW, the insertion into that study of certain paragraphs of a libel published several years ago against the President of Venezuela, General Juan Vicente Gómez, accusing him of having poisoned Fathers Ramírez and Fránquiz. That is nothing but a calumny, so ridiculous that in Venezuela no one paid the slightest attention to it. However, I wish to protest against the welcome that has been given it in the columns of a magazine as circumspect as that of which you are the editor.

In the United States, also, there have been published the most atrocious libels against almost every one of the honorable Presidents of this great nation, but neither in Venezuela nor in the other countries of Hispanic America have they been quoted as documents worthy of credence in any periodical of importance or in any writing whatever of conscientious historians.

In the article itself, the author, referring to President Gómez, says: "In 1930 the Bishop of Mérida was expelled for a criticism of the private life of the dictator. His expulsion was executed with personal indignities of the crudest character".

This is absolutely false. Neither in 1930, nor before nor since was there expelled the *Archbishop* of Mérida (Mérida is an Archbishopric and not a Bishopric).

The author cannot have felt any great concern as to the accuracy of her article if, through inadvertence, she has confused the imaginary case to which the above paragraph refers, with the expulsion that did occur, in 1929, of the Bishop of Valencia. Indeed, she herself mentions that event, giving as its cause (as in fact it was) a criticism of the law of civil marriage (not because the Bishop of Valencia had censured the private life of any person). In connection with the expulsion of the Bishop of Valencia, it is strange that Miss Watters disre-

gards the fact that it was decreed by the then President of the Republic, Dr. Juan B. Pérez, without any intervention whatsoever on the part of General Gómez, who was at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Army. It is also surprising that Miss Watters ignores the fact that one of the first acts of General Gómez, when he again became President of the Republic in 1931 upon the resignation of Dr. Pérez, was nothing other than the repeal of the decree of expulsion to which I have just referred. The Bishop of Valencia returned to his diocese and enjoys the esteem and consideration of General Gómez.

I take the liberty of asking that you publish this letter in your magazine.

Very truly yours,

PEDRO M. ARCAYA,
Venezuelan Minister.

Arkansas State College
Jonesboro, Arkansas

March 14, 1933.

Editor, THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

I have read with interest the letter of Dr. Arcaya. The reference to the Archbishop of Mérida as Bishop was a slip on my part. I am glad to have the correction. You will note that I state myself (p. 39 of my article) that Mérida was raised to the status of an archbishopric in 1923. As to the comments I made concerning the expulsion of the Archbishop of Mérida, I gave (p. 41, note 56) as the source certain private conversations with residents in Venezuela. It is possible that these are open to error.

I respect the opinion of Dr. Arcaya as a Venezuelan historian and will always read with interest any criticism he may make.

Yours truly,

MARY WATTERS.

[Note: Nothing in any article published in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW can be said to be the opinion of the editors of the Review, unless such article is written by one of the editors, in which case it is his opinion and not necessarily that of the editors as a body. For the publication of the matter to which exception has been taken, the Managing Editor is alone responsible. It is not the policy of this REVIEW to welcome anything that might be called scandalous.—J. A. R.]